TIMOTHY RICHARD'S THEORY OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS TO THE NON-CHRISTIAN WORLD

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ABSTRACT

Timothy Richard (1845-1919), a Welsh Baptist minister, went to North China in 1870 as a member of the English Missionary Society of London. For the next 45 years (1870-1915) China was his home.

Nineteenth century China was in the throes of political, social, and economic upheavals. The Chinese had always believed themselves to be the world's most civilized nation. If China held any illusions that the Europeans would submit to her civilizing influence these illusions were dispelled by the events of the second half of the century. Now they found themselves unable to stop European penetration or to save China from the encroachments of the Foreign Powers on its sovereignty and integrity. Having no modern army, navy or industry, China could not effectively fight back.

Not all of China's problems came from without. The Taiping and Nien rebellions , the ineptitude and corruption of the imperial government, the widespread poverty and misery of the masses were every bit as damaging as the ravages of Western imperialism. There was widespread opposition to Christianity. Missionaries were the object of suspicion as well as of contempt, for the Chinese feared that they were the forerunners of invading hordes who would conquer and subjugate China.

This is the background against which Timothy Richard began his missionary labors. However he brought to the task not only an excellent background and deep spirituality but also imagination,

enthusiasm, zeal, and a whole new missiology approach.

Timothy Richard considered missionaries to be ambassadors of the Kingdom of God with a divine mandate to minister to the needs of the people they served. If an ambassador then one had to present the best credentials at his new post. It was not sufficient for a missionary to engage in evangelistic work. He must minister to the social, economic, intellectual needs of his people in order to develop the whole man and hasten the spread of the Kingdom of heaven on earth. He must dispel ignorance and superstition by leading the Chinese to consider that the new ideals are from God, that they are essential to salvation and prosperity and that they are superior to anything they have had in the past. Therefore missionaries had to have the highest personal qualities and be eminently qualified academically for this great responsibility.

Timothy Richard employed a Scriptural rather than a dogmatic approach to his work. He diligently studied the Confucian, Buddhist and Taoist Classics and after the study of these books he reconstructed his own theology direct from the Bible. Though always a Baptist and a loyal member of the Baptist Missionary Society, he could not be held down to any one creed.

Timothy Richard felt that China's growing population (one fourth of the human race) gave an urgency, and growing Western domination gave an immediacy to the solution of its grave problems. The only thing that could save China in this crisis was regeneration and reform. Through his literary work both as editor of the Tientsin daily Shih Pao, and as Secretary of the Christian Literature Society in Shanghai, Timothy Richard had a great influence on the reform movement that developed after 1895. Richard was a personal friehd of the reformers Kang Yu-wei and Liang Chi-chao, and others in the movement; he edited their reform rules, at the same time writing many of his own suggestions for reform. He cultivated the friendship of many of the leading literati, Hanlins, mandarins, government officials. If he could not make Christians of them at least he would orient them to a great appreciation of all Christianity had to offer for the reform of China.

Timothy Richard was ecumenically-minded. He visited Mohammedan mosques, Buddhist temples, Taoist shrines, and held discussions with the leaders of these in an effort to understand them better and to work with them harmoniously. He was a special friend of Confucianists, Roman Catholics, Jews. He and Roman Catholic Bishop Favier collaborated on working out regulations for all missionaries so as to ensure a good relationship between the Government and missionaries. He made special studies of Buddhism. He was convinced that there were many similarities between Buddhist and Christian doctrines and he worked very hard to convince Buddhists that they should go the whole way and accept all of Christianity.

During the twenty-five years that Timothy Richard served as Secretary for the Christian Literature Society in Shanghai he published a prodigious amount of literature -- biographies, geography, history, science, literature as well as religious tracts. Many of his writings both in English and Chinese were original and the result of continuous study. Others of his works were translations of English Classics to Chinese or vice versa.

It was his honest conviction that the speediest and best way to regenerate and convert China was through the conversion of the leaders. Whatever example they gave, their Chinese subjects would be sure to follow. The best way to convert millions instead of units or hundreds was through literary methods. Books, magazines, tracts were more penetrating, more steady, more accurate, more all-inclusive than mere evangelistic methods and provided an indirect approach to the Chinese who were lovers of and skilled in the art of indirection.

In his missiological approach to the Orient and its problems Timothy Richard was foresighted and far ahead of his time. He portrayed the best of the West to China and the best of China to the West. He died in London, in 1919.

I believe this is the first study in depth on Timothy Richard made in the United States. Much of the information for it came from original source material obtained in England, Wales, Yale Divinity School and the Missionary Research Library at Union Theological Seminary.

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PREFACE

As far as I know and can ascertain this is the first study, in depth, that has been done in the United States on Timothy Richard (1845-1919), a Welsh Baptist missioner who served in the North China missions for forty-five years.

Kenneth S. Latourette described Richard as one of the greatest modern missioners of any creed, barring none, who was ever sent to China. Victor Purcell said that he was "the greatest direct influence on the Reform Movement of 1898 in China." E. W. Burt referred to him as a "Bridge-Builder between East and West." Corroborating that idea was a similar one in the Thirty-Second Annual Report of the Christian Literature Society in 1919, which read, "Amid the clash of cultures and religions he was perhaps the greatest interpreter of the West to the East that ever came to China. On the other hand, he never took the best of the East and showed it to the West. Multitudes in the West thought better of China because of Timothy Richard." That triple aspect of Timothy Richard--missionary, reformer, bridge-builder--is what this dissertation will try to establish.

It was the Rev. Thomas W. Berry, C. P., Associate Professor of History at the Center of Asian Studies of St. John's University, New York, who suggested and inspired this study of Timothy Richard. To Father Berry and to Paul K. T. Sih, Director of the Center of Asian Studies, I am deeply grateful for their assistance, encouragement, and scholarly competence.

On March 25, 1965, I unexpectedly found a daughter of Timothy Richard in England. Mary Richard Napier, an elderly but active widow living alone in Kensington, gave me access to the unpublished letters, diaries, and papers by or on Timothy Richard that she had in her apartment. She was surprised and moved that an American Catholic had even crossed the Atlantic to search for information about her father, and that heightened her desire to give me whatever help she could. Four months later, Mrs. Napier who had never been ill, died in her sleep just three weeks before her eighty-fifth birthday.

The youngest of Timothy Richard's four daughters, Margaret Richard Dixon, and now the only survivor, lives in Auckland, New Zealand. She also helped by copying and sending to me letters or essays written by her father and marked with her own personal annotations.

A grand-nephew of Timothy Richard, Thomas Evans of Llansaint, Kidwelly, Carmarthenshire, Wales, translated into English for me the letters which Timothy Richard wrote in Welsh from China to his mother. Mr. Evans has the original letters. They were published two years ago in the Trafodian Cymdeithas Hanes Sedyddwyr Cymru 1963. Thomas Evans did not know of the existence of his cousins, Mrs. Napier and Mrs. Dixon, until I told him about them. He then visited Mrs. Napier in London.

Another rich source of primary materials was the Wyre Lewis Collection in the National Library of Wales at Aberystwyth, Cardiganshire, Wales. B. G. Owens, Keeper of MBS and Records, put the full collection at my disposal as well as the services of Monica Davies, a translator for the Welsh manuscripts and letters.

In England, I met the Rev. A. J. Garnier, author of a book on Timothy Richard, A Maker of Modern China, at his home in Sevenoaks, Kent; the Rev. Henry R. Williamson, of Sutton, Surrey, author of several books on China, including The British Baptists in China 1845-1952; and Mr. Frederick Drake, recently arrived in

London from Hong Kong where he had served for many years as Head of the Chinese Department at Hong Kong University. These men all had personal memories of Timothy Richard, which they shared with me.

At the headquarters of the Baptist Missionary Society, 93 Gloucester Place, London, I was given access to the Timothy Richard Collection in their archives. This included several hundred letters, manuscript articles, programs, and write-ups of the many Timothy Richard centenary celebrations in 1945, made available to me through the courtesy of the Rev. A. S. Clement, Home Secretary of the Society. The archivist, Mary M. Evans, was the epitome of kindness and service.

Herbert C. Jackson, Director of the Missionary Research Library in Union Theological Seminary, New York City, has been most helpful and interested in this study of Timothy Richard from its very beginning. All the services of the Missionary Research Library were available to me.

Kenneth S. Latourette, Sterling Professor of Missions and Oriental History, Emeritus, at Yale University, with whom I had several conferences, suggested the title of this work and gave other helps. Through him I was able to work in the Day Missions

Library of Yale Divinity School. The librarians there, Raymond P. Morris and Helen B. Ulrich and the assistant librarian, Jane E. McFarland, could not have been kinder or of greater assistance.

Ralph Mortensen, Field Secretary of the American Bible Society, New York, contributed useful information. His encomium on the project is amply rewarding: "You are following a very interesting line of dialogue, which now is also recommended by Pope Paul VI and the Ecumenical Council in Rome."

Special thanks for assistance are also due to: Arthur W. Hummel, former Head in the Orientalia Division of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; M. Searle Bates, Union Theological Seminary; John H. McCombe, Executive Secretary of the American Bible Society; Sister Margaret Therese, S.N.D. of Trinity College, Washington, D.C.; Barbara Hayes, New York City; the Dominican Sisters of St. Mary's Convent and of Albertus Magnus College, both in New Haven, Connecticut; and Margaret Murphy, former librarian at the Missionary Research Library, New York.

Finally, a special token of appreciation and gratitude is due to Mother Mary Colman, M.M., Sister Rose Victor, M.M., and to Sister Jeanne Marie, M.M., President of Mary Rogers College, Maryknoll, New York, without whose encouragement and support none of this study would have been possible.

INTRODUCTION

The history of nineteenth century China was a panoramic unfolding of the process of accommodation and adaptation to the penetrating influences of the West. It was by no means a smooth, easy, or even a voluntary process. Initially it was a response of hostile repulsion rather than friendly reception. Powerful and uncompromising forces tore the old order apart.

The unequal treaties forced on China as the results of two foreign wars (1840-1842 and 1856-1860); the internal destruction and turmoil bequeathed by the Taiping Rebellion (1850-1865), the Nien Fei Uprisings (1851-1868) in the Provinces of Anhwei, Chili, Honan, and Shantung, and the Mohammedan Revolts (1860-1873) in Yunnan and Sinkiang; the reparations and indemnities exacted of China as a result of the Tientsin Massacre of 1870 and the Li-Fournier Convention of 1884; the incessant encroachments on Chinese sovereignty and integrity by the importunate foreign powers; the internal and increasing rebellions, brigandage, piracy, droughts, floods, famines, and pestilence; the corruption of Chinese society and an apathetic spirit among the masses--all graphically illustrated the growing decadence of the Ch'ing Dynasty, the ineptitude of the Manchus, and the inevitability of China's collapse unless immediate steps were taken to forestall such a calamity.

There were some loyal and relatively far-sighted officials such as Li Hung-chang, Tseng Kuo-fan, Chang Chih-tung, Tso Tsung-t'ang, and others, who realized the necessity of implementing reforms that would modernize China and enable her to resist "barbarian" aggression with "barbarian" tactics and weapons. But talented and patriotic men were scarce, and most of them were relegated to minor positions or even into oblivion after the rise to power of the Dowager Empress Tzu Hsi and her staff of eunuchs and court favorites. High officials within and without the capital were forced to ingratiate themselves with these individuals in order to maintain their positions and power. But the real power remained in the hands of Empress Tzu Hsi, a former imperial concubine, and her vast coterie of eunuchs, who adamantly obstructed the modernization of China and thus hastened its ruin.

The fact that Tzu Hsi was able to wield such power was due to her reliance on the influence of Confucian ethics. Even though she herself did not personally subscribe to Confucian moral principles, she always invoked the Confucian moral code in her dealings with others. She truly utilized the precept of filial piety to ruin the Empire. The Chinese gentry who rose in defense of the old order favored a return to the original Confucianism.

Those officials who advocated a Western-method reform program for China pushed their programs on the grounds of national and personal expediency. Li Hung-chang, the most modern of them and the one sought out most frequently by foreign officials, still maintained the superiority of China's civilization and the ascendancy of her political, social, and educational systems over those of the West. For that reason, his change to modernity was limited to the military and economic spheres. Chang Chih-tung, the most loved and revered among the officials by both natives and foreigners alike, advocated Confucian morality for the individual but Westernization for the nation.

Other officials presented their modernization schemes under the mantle of neo-Confucianism in order to keep the minds of the people quiet, closed to Western knowledge, and aloof from the appeals of Christianity. Again, China's conservative and passive spirit contributed to her ultimate decline. In the face of mounting crises the Imperial government merely displayed lack of determination and indecision rather than a strong, unsubmissive policy. Open bribery and corruption among both upper and lower ranks of officials were rampant.

This provided fertile soil for the rapid and aggressive growth of Western imperialism in China which multiplied and intensified China's diplomatic problems. These problems mainly revolved around Russia in the northwest, Japan in the northeast, France in the extreme south, and England along the southeastern coast, along the China-Burma border and in the Yangtze Valley. These were but a prelude to the humiliation that Japan was soon to inflict on China in their first major open struggle, the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895).

As in previous clashes with the Western Powers, China was forced to pay an exorbitant indemnity and to cede some of her territory to Japan, thus yielding some of her national sovereignty. But this war with Japan went further. It dealt the national economy of China a great blow and put China's industry under the dominance of Japanese and Western imperialists. The war also revealed omnipresent Chinese weakness which led the Powers to scramble for concessions. Before long, Russia acquired a twenty-five year lease on Talienwan and on Port Arthur, the fortified Post on the Liaotung Peninsula; Germany was granted a ninety-nine year lease of Kiaochow Bay; France was given a ninety-nine year lease on Kwangchowan; Japan regarded the Province of Fukien as a Japanese sphere of influence; and England, leased Weihaiwei on the northern coast of Shantung and the New Territories opposite Hong Kong. A weak and impotent China had to yield to these arrogant demands. To the Chinese scholars who staffed China's bureaucracy, this situation was a humiliating warning. But the Manchu government continued more impotent and corrupt than ever. A group of leaders emerged in Canton with the avowed intention of revolution or reform. The foremost leaders were Sun Yat-sen, who advocated revolution and the overthrow of the Manchus, and Kang Yu-wei, who advocated peaceful methods of reform.

Sun Yat-sen was full of ideas on how to improve and westernize his country. When his reform proposals were ignored by the Manchus he began to plot the overthrow of their government. He even used his medical practice in Macao for spreading anti-Manchu propaganda. In 1894, he organized a secret revolutionary group called the Hsing-chung-hui (Revive China Society). In 1895 this conspiratorial society prepared an uprising in Canton. The plot failed. Some of his associates lost their lives and Sun had to flee, becoming from that time on a fugitive from the Chinese government with a price on his head. He began to travel abroad, organizing revolutionary groups among the overseas Chinese. Sun Yat-sen had started his revolution from the lower stratum of society. His concentration upon immediate and practical solutions to the political and social situation showed the results of a modern, scientific, and Western education.

On the other hand, Kang Yu-wei, as a result of his classical and Oriental education, was abstruse, traditional, and bound by the tenets of Confucianism. He was very sincere, patriotic, and visionary. It was he, rather than the revolutionary Sun Yat-sen, who was able to muster the greater number of sympathizers, especially the necessary scholar officials, for the causes of reform in order to keep China from dying out as a nation.

Kang Yu-wei was never an advocate of republicanism. He felt that the government best suited for China was one patterned after England's constitutional monarchy and that the model most practical for the Emperor Kuang Hsu to imitate would be Peter the Great, who had been most persistent in his determination to westernize Russia. Through the two books that he had previously written and through the medium of study clubs and newspaper offices, Kang Yu-wei moved the minds of the literati, mandarins, and officials of the Tsungli Yamen to accept his proposals for reform as means of promoting classical traditions. He started his reform movement in the upper stratum of society by whom he was considered a sage, and through whom he hoped to receive the all-important imperial attention. Classicist that he was, he knew that all power was concentrated in the throne and that he could and would accomplish nothing unless the Emperor approved his plans. This imperial approval and support Kang ultimately received.

Kang Yu-wei worked out a program of reforms and presented them to Emperor Kuang Hsu who announced them on June 11, 1898. But the reform movement was ephemeral and destined to fail. Exactly one hundred days later, on September 16, 1898, the Empress Dowager effected a *coup d'etat* and compelled Emperor Kuang Hsu to cancel his reform decrees and to declare publicly that he was incapable of reigning. She kept him in solitary confinement in a pavilion of the palace while she once again resumed control of court affairs and the entire imperial administration which she held until her death in 1908.

Meanwhile, as a result of the failure of the domestic reform and the consequent chaos and instability, along with constant humiliations and encroachments of foreign powers, the Chinese people were aroused by these threats to their world position. Their reaction was expressed violently against what they considered the cause of all their troubles--the foreigners. Empress Tzu Hsi encouraged the I-ho-t'uan (Righteous and Harmonious Society), commonly called the Boxers, to drive all foreigners out of China and to exterminate the traitorous Chinese who practiced the foreign religions and customs. This uprising was soon out of control, and the foreign legations in Peking were endangered. The Dowager Empress then ordered the extermination of all foreigners in China, but fortunately her edict was ignored by many provincial officials who were opposed to the Boxer Movement. On August 14, 1901, the Imperial court fled to Shensi Province leaving Peking to the international armies. In the Boxer Protocol that followed China secured peace but again on humiliating terms.

At this period, there were serious antagonisms between Japan and Russia. Control of Korea and Manchuria seemed essential to the successful exploitation of Russia's Asiatic empire, and Russia used the Boxer Uprising as an excuse for her occupation of Manchuria. Russian aggression in Manchuria not only alarmed Japan but also angered her, for Japan had similar ambitions. This caused the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) which had harmful effects on China. The war was fought almost entirely on Chinese soil, without Chinese participation, yet China was powerless to prevent it. The inept Manchu government just could not defend its own domain.

Having been forced twice to flee from Peking in order to escape the foreigners, Empress Tzu Hsi at last realized the necessity and urgency for administrative changes. This led her to promulgate a Reform Edict in 1901. From that date until her death in 1908 Tzu Hsi fostered the reforms she had previously opposed, but by a policy of slow change. Her first reforms aimed to improve education, governmental methods, the legal system, and the Army and Navy. Since the program had to be carried out by provincial officials who had little understanding, appreciation, and knowledge of Western methods, the results were unequal, poor, and frustrating.

In 1908, a provisional constitution was promulgated together with a comprehensive nine-year program of governmental reform. At the end of the reform period a permanent constitution would be put into effect. But only three months after the commencement of this plan the Empress Tzu Hsi and the Emperor Kuang Hsu died within a few hours of each other, leaving the throne to three-year old, Pu-Yi. The proposed reforms never got beyond the paper stage. Just about three years later, the Manchu regime collapsed.

On October 10, 1911, the long-planned revolution suddenly mushroomed into a reality when an accidental explosion in a revolutionist bomb factory at Hankow led to mutiny among nearby imperial troops. The revolt spread rapidly throughout China, and before long the boy Emperor was forced to abdicate. Sun Yat-sen, who had been in Denver, Colorado, when the revolution broke, was made president of a provisional government established in Nanking. On February 12, 1912, the Republic of China was established. In the ensuing struggle for power, Sun Yat-sen relinquished the presidency in favor of Yuan Shih-kai, who had been prime minister under the Manchus and commander of the imperial army. He still had the army solidly behind him. Yuan remained the ruling head of China until his death in 1916.

This was the China to which a young, enthusiastic, and idealistic missionary, Timothy Richard, came in February 1870. These were the conditions in which he labored for forty-five years (1870-1915) in an effort to help China take her rightful place among the nations of the world and thus to extend the Kingdom of God on earth. The following Chapters will tell in what ways and to what extent he succeeded.

CHAPTER I

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF TIMOTHY RICHARD

Timothy Richard was born on October 10, 1845, at Ffaldybrenin, Carmarthenshire, South Wales--the youngest son of Timothy and Eleanor Lewis Richard. His boyhood was spent at Tanyresgair Farm where his parents moved shortly after his birth. He was a lively and adventurous boy, as scars from some mishaps testified for the rest of his life. His father, who was a blacksmith, was also secretary and deacon of two small Welsh Baptist churches. His mother was outstanding for her gentleness and sweetness.[1] The nobility and spirituality that they inculcated in him served to develop the imaginative yet practical, the enthusiastic yet self-controlled, simple yet broad-minded son who later became on the glories of Wales. He early showed great keeness in acquiring knowledge and all his life he was learning. He attended the village school until he was fourteen after which he worked for a year on his father's farm. Then it was arranged that he should continue his education at a private school kept by a cousin at Cross Inn. At the age of sixteen he became a teacher in the mining village of Penygross. He seemed now to be launched on his career, particularly when, after a short course at the Swansea Normal School, he was appointed master of an endowed school at Conwil Elvet. He had great success in his teaching and in classroom discipline.[2]

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[1] Timothy Richard to Mary Martin Richard, Toronto, 8 October 1897, in Mary Celia Richard Napier Collection, London, England. Hereinafter referred to as Napier MSS.

During the great religious revival that swept over the British Isles and Northern Europe between 1858-1860, Timothy Richard professed his faith as a Baptist and was baptized in the River Caio near his home. The revival turned his mind to the ministry and, in 1865, at the age of twenty, he was admitted to the Haverfordwest Baptist College in Pembrokeshire, South Wales, on the understanding that he would rely on his own resources for the first session. There he came under the influence of Thomas Davies and G. H. Rouse, two teachers for whom he always expressed the highest regard.[3]

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[2] Timothy Richard, Forty-five Years in China: Reminiscences (London, 1916), pp. 22-25.

In the Haverfordwest records and yearly reports there are entries to the effect that Timothy Richard did well in Euclid and Algebra, taking prizes in both in 1867; that he passed fair exams in Hebrew and Greek the following year; he did well in his Hebrew exam the next year;[4] and that very same year, 1869, he was accepted by the Baptist Mission Society for work in China.[5] As a student at Haverfordwest, he manifested on several occasions some of those qualities that were always so characteristic of his in his later life: his independence of spirit, his vision, his adjustment to and adaptation of prevailing methods to changing times. He was one of the student leaders in the open rebellion against the traditional course of studies in classical languages (Greek and Hebrew), European history, theology, and philosophy, and successfully campaigned for their more utilitarian counterparts: modern languages, World history, and science.[6] As he neared the end of his studies he received pastoral calls from two home churches but waived them both in favor of his new ambition--that of becoming a missionary in North China, where there were very few mission stations at that time.[7]

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[3] Richard, op. cit., p. 26.

[4] He not only passed a stiff examination in Hebrew, but also won the prize for excellence in the subject. Ibid., p. 26.

[5] These Haverfordwest records are found in the Wyre Lewis Collection, National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, Wales.

Three times in his early lifetime sermons altered the course of his life. The first sermon was given in Salem Chapel on the text, "Obedience is better than sacrifice." During this sermon young Richard felt the inspiration to become a missionary, and he told his older brother about it as they walked home from the chapel. His brother was mystified at such a reaction because the sermon had left him unmoved.[8] The second similar reaction occurred as the result of a talk given by Mrs. Grattan Guiness of the China Inland Mission, and this time he felt impelled to offer himself for their "heroic and self-sacrificing" program.[9] But, because he was a Baptist, the Inland Mission group suggested that he apply to the Baptist Missionary Society in London. After he offered himself to this Society, they asked him what he would do if they refused to accept him for their China missions. He told them that he would go to China anyway. They accepted him but asked him to promise that he would not marry for ten years. He refused to give this pledge on the grounds that he might be unjustifiably bound to something that might possibly hamper his work. In both these instances, Richard's opinions prevailed.[10]

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[6] Richard, Forty-five Years, pp. 25-26.

[7] Ibid., p. 27.

[8] Ibid., p. 22.

[9] Ibid., p. 26.

On November 17, 1869, he sailed from Liverpool, and, on February 12, 1870, he reached Shanghai, China. There he stayed for the next twelve days as a house guest of the Rev. James Thomas, pastor of Union Church, after which he set out for his original destination, Chefoo in Shantung Province, where he arrived three days later.[11]

In Chefoo, the Rev. F. Laughton was the sole remaining member of a group of five men who had been working in that place since 1860 as members of the Baptist Mission Society of London. One of the men had died of cholera, and the other three had had to leave because of serious illness. By the time Timothy Richard arrived in Chefoo, Laughton had already been there for seven years. Yet, four months later, he, too, was dead--a victim of typhus. That left Richard--only twenty-five years old and with just four months' knowledge of the Chinese language, the people, and their customs--alone and the sole representative of the British Baptists in China.[12]

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[10] Richard, Forty-five Years, p. 29.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

Fortunately for him, he had some very able and religious associates in Chefoo, among whom were the Rev. Alexander Williamson and Mr. Robert Lilley of the Bible Society of Scotland; the Rev. Hunter Corbett, Rev. Calvin Mateer, and Rev. John Nevius of the American Presbyterian Mission; and the Rev. J. B. Hartwell of the American Baptist Mission. For each of these men Richard had a very great esteem and affection.[13]

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[12] Richard, Forty-five Years, p. 32.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

After his first year in the mission, he went with Robert Lilley on a 600-mile tour through Manchuria to Korea. The journey was an adventurous one due to such dangers as robbers, shipwreck, sunstroke, suspicious natives, and hostile officials. Heretofore, these areas had been closed to foreigners, and any found therein were massacred by the natives. Richard and Lilley were the first to penetrate this forbidden land since its closing to foreigners. They did have a narrow escape in Korea but finally returned safely to their missions.[14]

Back in Chefoo in 1872, Richard tried both chapel preaching and street preaching, neither of which produced satisfactory results. He was not naturally a good talker, and when he was excited or agitated his Welsh accent heavily penetrated his Chinese, making it difficult for his listeners to hear and understand. Then, too, the only ones who listened to his sermons were usually those drawn by curiosity to see a foreigner.[15] He then attempted to work in Ninghai, but his appearance in that place fanned into a blaze the strong antiforeign sentiment already prevalent there. He moved on to Lai Yang, about eighty miles south of Chefoo, for a short stay. This trip was worthwhile for it taught him

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[14] Richard, Forty-five Years, pp. 36-48.

[15] Ibid., p. 48.

> the necessity of devising means to free the Chinese philosophers from the chains of superstition by which they were bound in the theory of Yin Yang the five elements through which they explained all the mysterious wonders of heaven and earth. One means of dispelling their ignorance was to give a few lectures with experiments in physics and chemistry, and this I did to my Chinese assistants when I returned to Chefoo by ocular demonstrations, giving them true conceptions of the laws of natural philosophy.[16]

This knowledge was implemented in his later missionary efforts.

The next year, again in the company of Lilley, Richard visited Chinanfu, the capital of Shantung Province, over 300 miles away from Chefoo. Here, another foundation for future missionary endeavor was laid when Richard observed the Chinese examination system. In Chinanfu, twelve thousand scholars had assembled to take the examinations for the chu-jen

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[16] Richard, Forty-five Years, p. 55.

(舉人) degree that was to be bestowed on just the top ninety-five candidates.[17]

It was also in this sameplace that he made his first acquaintance with Mohammedanism, there being two Mohammedan mosques with a large following in the city. Up until this time there was no Chinese translation of the Koran for them, no Christian literature for their use. Now an American Presbyterian missionary, the Rev. Jasper S. McIlvaine, was in Chinanfu studying Mohammedanism with a view to writing Christian tracts for this religious group.[18] A few years later, hearing of McIlvaine's death, Richard wrote a tribute in which he acknowledged his own indebtedness to this missionary.

> . . . Whatever I know of Chinese literature I owe largely to the example of hard study he gave. The religions and ancient history of China were his favorite studies. Neither his conversation nor his letters were ever trivial. . . . He always liked to occupy new ground. When his own Society sent reinforcements to him, he left and commenced work in another important center. It was his motto to make the most of our few forces by distribution, instead of settling down together in a few cities while the rest of China was left without any means of hearing the Gospel.
>
> His patience was remarkable. Being called bad names in the street (a thing then intensely

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[17] Richard, Forty-five Years, p. 56.

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 57-59.

> disagreeable to me) I wanted to remonstrate, but he said, "the more you notice it, the more they will enjoy it, let us live it down. . . ."
>
> He has gone, but he has left us a blessed memory of conscientiousness, consecration, patience, and endurance of reproach which few can equal. . . .[19]

Richard began his work with enthusiasm and thoroughness. He soon realized, however, that he could not remain content with life in a port city on the coast. In as much as the Treaty of Tientsin (1860) had guaranteed protection to the missionaries and their converts, Richard made the momentous decision to hand over his converts at the coast to another mission and to move inland. In January, 1875, he settled in Chingchowfu in the heart of the province and some ten days' travel from Chefoo. One reason for his choice was that in that neighborhood there were many secret religious sects, whose members were dissatisfied with their native religions and more diligently searching for something better. Such men were predisposed to receive the Christian message and from them came some of the Baptist mission's best Christians.[20]

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[19] Timothy Richard, "Sacred Memories of Rev. J. S. McIlvaine," Chinese Recorder, Vol. XII, No. 4 (July-August, 1881), pp. 297-99.

[20] Richard, Forty-five Years, p. 76.

After he established himself in the city, Richard soon gained a reputation for medical skill. He adopted Chinese dress. A number of Government officials and religious leaders--Buddhist, Confucianist and Moslem--were soon among his friends. He had previously made a study of the Legge translation of the Confucian Classics, and now he concentrated on the Taoist tracts and on the Diamond Sutra of the Buddhists.[21] He prepared a catechism in Chinese, based on the religious thoughts he had assimilated from those tracts and on material he had taken from English and Welsh catechisms, which would make an appeal to the consciences of the Chinese.[22] He translated The Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation, St. Francis de Sales' Introduction to a Devout Life, and Jeremy Taylor's Holy Living.[23] He visited with the religious leaders of the various religious sects trying to carry out as he saw them, "the instructions of Our Lord to His disciples in the tenth chapter of the Gospel of

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[21] Richard, Forty-five Years, p. 86.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 94.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 86.

Saint Matthew."[24]

> He [Richard] traveled around the county towns of the Prefecture, posting religious tracts on the city gates with his own hands. An important feature of his work amongst inquirers was the committing to memory of the catechism and hymn book and selected portions of the Scriptures. With one bound, he says, the Christians were lifted above the heathen, they became readers and therefore scholars to whom others looked up. They were self-taught Christians teaching heathen, and in this way adult Sunday schools were established.
>
> Mr. Richard found that the ordinary evidences of Christianity were not suitable for presentation to Mohammedans and learned Confucianists, and that Our Lord's methods were appeals to the reason and conscience. By using these methods and preaching the Kingdom of God, Mr. Richard had six hundred converts and two thousand inquirers within two or three years.[25]

It was around this time that Richard read a sermon given in 1824 by Edward Irving, and this was the third sermon that influenced his life.[26] It contained Our Lord's injunction to the twelve Apostles to "seek out the worthy," and this confirmed Richard in his decision to work specifically with the religious and political leaders, a new line of missionary approach for which he was soon criticized by his confreres.[27] This sermon also convinced Richard of the power of the written word, for, more than fifty years after the sermon had been preached, it still had the power to influence and move men's hearts.[28] He was so impressed with Irving's sermon that he had it published and a copy of it sent to each leading missionary in China, India, and Africa.

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[24] Richard, Forty-five Years, p. 89.

[25] Robert C. Forsyth, Shantung (Shanghai, 1912), pp. 209-14.

[26] Edward Irving, "Missionaries After the Apostolical School," in Collected Writings of Edward Irving (London, 1824).

Richard's eight years in Shantung ended when he was asked by the Famine Relief Committee in Shanghai to be the chief almoner of the Mansion House Fund (Taels 120,000 which was £60,000) raised to relieve famine in North China--the greatest on record in all China's history.[29] More than fifteen million people perished in this disaster, which was made known to the West through the vivid and heart-rending details written by

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[27] Timothy Richard, Fifteen Years' Missionary Work in China, pamphlet (London, 1885), pp. 9-10.

[28] Donald MacGillivray, Timothy Richard of China: A Prince in Israel, pamphlet (Shanghai, 1920), pp. 5-6.

[29] Hilda Bowser, "Outline of Life and Work of Timothy Richard," confidential manuscript prepared by his private secretary, p. 1, in Richard Papers, National Library, Aberystwyth.

Timothy Richard. Richard and his friend David Hill did heroic relief work, but he was not content with just this. He sought to arouse officials to take steps to prevent future famines. He recommended the following relief measures to the Governor of Shansi, Tseng Kuo-chun (曾國均):

> 1) Emigration on a large scale to Manchuria and other places where cheap grain was to be got. [sic]
>
> 2) The commencement of public works, such as railroads, which, besides giving immediate occupation to people who had to earn a living, would be of permanent value, preventing famines in the future.
>
> 3) A famine relief tax to be imposed on the provinces not suffering from famine.[30]

Richard's proposals were not followed by the Government, but he did win the gratitude and affection of the people in the capital of Taiyuanfu, whom he was later to rescue from the vengeance of the Foreign Powers after the Boxer Massacre.

> His name in China and at home sprang at once into great prominence. The fame thus given him become a vantage point in his appeal to the churches, to the missionary body, and to the Chinese Government, so that the name of Li Ti Mo Tai[31] (李提摩太) once

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[30] Richard, Forty-five Years, p. 157.

[31] Chinese name by which Timothy Richard was affectionately called--a phonetic approximation of the first syllable of his surname and of Timothy.

> and for all became the best known missionary name in China.[32]

The British consul reported to Lord Salisbury, the British prime minister:

> Richard is known far and wide among all classes as the chief of the distributors. By his great tact and power of organization, he has been a powerful agent in bringing the relief through to a successful termination.[33]

After the famine, Richard and his colleagues distributed religious tracts in each of the 107 counties of the province. He also began to deliver to the officials once a month for three years, regular lectures on astronomy, geology, chemistry, history, and religion, illustrated with the best lantern slides and scientific apparatus available. As a result, the whole province was thrown open to Mission work peacefully, whereas before that time every attempt to commence work in the interior of a province was met by riots everywhere.[34] In order to buy the books and scientific apparatus needed for these lectures, Richard spent all of a thousand pounds, including a legacy that had been left to him by Joshua Lewis, a relative.[35]

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[32] MacGillivray, Timothy Richard of China, p. 5.

[33] Sherwood Eddy, Pathfinders of the World Missionary Crusade (New York, 1945), pp. 184-85.

[34] Bowser, "Outline of Life and Work of Timothy Richard," p. 1.

> In all the lectures I pointed out how God had provided infinite powers for man's use in the forces of Nature, in ignorance of which men lived like drudges and slaves. Many of the government couriers, after riding with dispatches for long distances at the rate of two hundred miles a day, often died of fatigue, while the electric telegraph was able to transmit in a few minutes messages from all round the earth, causing no exhaustion to anyone. The matter of supreme importance was that we should study all the laws of God in Nature, so as to gain the benefits that God intended to bestow upon us when He stored up all these forces for our use, and then show our gratitude for all His loving kindness by obeying His spiritual laws.[36]

On October 26, 1878, at Chefoo, the Rev. Timothy Richard of the English Baptist Mission Society was married to Miss Mary Martin of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland Mission. Miss Martin was a gifted musician, an experienced teacher, and a zealous missioner. The newlyweds went to live in Taiyuanfu. From the very beginning, and all through their married life, Mrs. Richard always took an active part in her husband's work. In fact, her life was spiritually motivated and even sacrificial with regard to it. She resolved never to hamper nor interfere with it, saying, "It must be God and His work that is to be the first in our thoughts, and each other next."[37] Writing to his mother about his bride, Richard praised her:

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[35] Richard, Forty-five Years, p. 159.

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 163.

> She is religious, good, tender-hearted, educated, industrious, in a few words an incomparable help to me. . . .[38]

On the occasion of her fifty-second birthday, Timothy Richard wrote to her,

> . . . You have been to me a most inestimable boon from the time I first met you. You have been my guardian angel, my guide, philosopher and friend. I can never sufficiently thank you, my dear, May God abundantly bless you far above all I am able to ask or think. . . .[39]

Another time, Richard asked one of his daughters, "Are you not glad that you have such an able and such a good

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[37] William Soothill, Timothy Richard of China (Oxford, 1929), p. 281.

[38] Timothy Richard to Eleanor Lewis Richard, Taiyuanfu, 3 July 1879 in Trafodion Cymdeithas Hanes Bedyddwyr Cymru 1963, trans. Thomas Evans (Llandysul, Wales, 1963), p. 47.

[39] Id. to Mary Martin Richard, Peking, 2 October 1895, in Napier MSS.

Mother and that God has blessed her work so abundantly. . . ."[40] The Richards had four daughters--Eleanor, Mary Celia, Florence, and Margaret. Though Richard left their training to their mother, he kept a firm and directing hand in their guidance. To show how Sinified he had become, he used to answer his Chinese friends when they inquired after his family, "I have no family only four daughters." His answer always amused them.[41]

Richard had now been in China for fifteen years without having had a furlough. Early in 1885, he and his wife and their four daughters sailed for England. After a very short period of rest and attending to personal affairs, he continued to work for his China Mission. He took a course in electrical engineering in South Kensington; he planned to learn about French and German educational methods; he gave a talk to the Executive Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society at their Annual Meeting held in Exeter Hall. In that talk he pleaded with them for special courses of study and special training for missionaries; he begged for greater discrimination in the choice of prospective candidates for the China Missions; he talked to them of the wisdom of combining with other missions to establish a Christian College in China.[42] But Baptists were hardly ready to understand or sympathize with all this. They considered Richard's schemes too ambitious, too expensive, too expansive, and too unconventional for them to adopt.

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[40] Id. to Mary Celia Richard, Shansi, undated, ibid.

[41] Statement by Mary Celia Richard Napier to the author in a personal interview at London, 27 March 1965.

> It should be remembered always that Mr. Richard, in many respects, had an "Oriental" mind not under the control of logic or limited by propositions of the schoolmen, but a mind rather under the inspiration of ideas. This Oriental mind led occasionally to what seemed exaggerations in statement. When he presented the scheme of founding eighteen universities in China to the members of the Baptist Missionary Society some of the members threw the papers into the fire--the only place for such a wild scheme.[43]

Furthermore, their attention was concentrated at the time more on the African missions than on those in

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[42] Richard, Forty-five Years, pp. 197-98.

[43] Evan Morgan, "Timothy Richard and the Christian Literature Society," manuscript dated 1 February 1921, written at the request of Thomas Lewis, Secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society. Original in National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.

China. Failing to win their co-operation and support made Richard feel that God wanted him to do the work alone.[44] Leaving his two older daughters in a school for missionaries' children at Sevenoaks, Kent, Richard returned to China with his wife and two younger daughters in 1886.

Further difficulties awaited him on his return to Shansi. Some of his Baptist colleagues insisted that he should concentrate on the more traditional lines of missionary work; further calls were made on him for relief work; he had a serious illness that not only terribly weakened him but left his arms a little paralyzed; his wife became seriously ill; he was increasingly harrassed by the local Baptist committee, composed of inexperienced and ultra-conservative juniors.

> When I wrote you at length before my wife was very low. Now I am grateful to say dear Mary is as well as she ever was. We were also troubled then by very vexatious opposition from four of our five colleagues in Shansi. But even then the China Inland Mission which usually opposed us took our side so that eight out of ten of them were on our side. Still Mission work was out of the question under the

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[44] Richard, Forty-five Years, pp. 198-200.

> circumstances so I decided to leave.[45]

The following letter to his Society in London proved what an agony the misunderstanding, between himself and his confreres and between himself and the London Committee, was causing him.

> If I have ceased troubling you I don't wish you or the Committee to think that I am satisfied with the bitter cup which they have given me to drink. I think I should leave no doubt in your mind of my real feelings.
>
> (a) In regard to the extraordinary partiality shown towards the Shantung Mission in various ways;[46]
>
> (b) In regard to the refusal of the Committee to adopt any suggestions I proposed to meet the present needs of China; and their refusal to suggest any other adequate means to meet the questions of the day in China;
>
> (c) In regard to tying my future action to the vote of men who have not been chosen to meet the real need of China without some equivalent compensation to what is given in Shantung.
>
> . . . To have seventeen years' toil put aside as only good for an empty compliment must be very painful to the Committee. But to me, for whom it was continual risk of life for several years, it must mean a great deal more, and the pain has

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[45] *Id.* to James and Mary Jane Martin (his brother-in-law and his wife), Peking, 17 December 1887, in Napier MSS.

[46] All underscorings are his. He belonged to the Shansi Mission.

not left me for a single day since the 7th of May.[47]

Because of the great divergence of views on theological questions and the continued opposition to his mission methods, in the interests of peace Richard withdrew from Shansi and went to Tientsin in 1887 with his family. Here he turned down a government offer for translation work because he could not bear to break completely with missionary work.

> I am at a loss to know how to write you at this time of great pain to us here, of great anxiety to you at home, and of great grief to the angels in heaven, at the sad state of our mission here . . . It is perfectly manifest that it is utterly impracticable for us to work harmoniously any longer together. Therefore, to prevent further waste of all kinds and to put an end to this scandal before the heathen, so far as I can, I have decided to leave Shansi for Tientsin where I shall await your letter. The hand of man is very plain in all this matter. May we also be able to trace the hand of God bringing good out of evil.[48]
>
> On October 18th I took my family to Tientsin. There I had an offer of translation work for the Government at the arsenal, with a salary of £600 a year, but I could not break with missionary work.[49]

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[47] Richard to Alfred Henry Baynes, London, 5 July 1886, in Richard MSS., in Baptist Missionary Society Library, London. Hereinafter referred to as Richard MSS, B.M.S.

[48] *Id.* to *id.*, Shansi, 13 October 1887, *ibid.*

[49] *Id.*, *Forty-five Years*, p. 206.

The next month Richard moved to Peking where he busied himself contacting officials, preparing a scheme for modern education in China, and writing the Historical Evidence of the Benefits of Christianity to refute the challenge of the Viceroy, Li Hung-chang, (李鴻章) that Christianity held no advantages for China.[50] Despite the fact that Richard's confreres in Shantung had unanimously voted to adopt his mission methods, the Baptist Mission Society in London refused to concur in the decision. Richard went back to Tientsin, where, at the instigation of Li Hung-chang, and of some personal friends, he assumed the editorship of the newspaper, Shih Pao (天津時報) a Chinese daily started by Jardine Matheson Company. This paper was one of just six dailies in the Empire, and Richard considered his appointment to it as providential. His friends felt the same way about it.

> The acceptance [of this editorship] would enable me to do my part of the work appointed me by the Society to do in Tsinan and would reach four provinces instead of one--and this without any cost to the Society, not even my salary.
>
> It appeared to me a clear and great gain that should not be allowed to be filled by any

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[50] Richard, Forty-five Years, p. 207.

non-Christians, even as an experiment.[51]

Richard utilized this opportunity to the utmost by filling his paper with subjects that compelled intelligent Chinese to feel the need for reforms in their Empire and to advocate them. Most of the other newspapers copied verbatim the leading articles that appeared in Shih Pao, and thus Richard's ideas about the conversion and regeneration of China began to influence the whole country.

> Your last letter to me conveyed the Resolution of the Committee that I should be allowed to undertake the Editorship of the Daily for twelve months. Now that time is nearly up and my connection with the Paper will end in June. Though the work has been a loss financially to the proprietors, one of the objects which my brethren in Shantung wanted me to carry out, viz., to remove prejudice from the minds of the Mandarins and Literati by showing them how Christianity assisted China in all that is best for its interests, etc., I trust has been, to some extent, accomplished not only in Shantung but throughout the Empire. The five other daily Papers conducted by Chinamen--two in Shanghai, two in Hong Kong, and one in Canton--after the first month or two began to copy our leaders in theirs. They copied no less than fifteen. But the time has been too short to effect a very large change. Still there is much to be thankful for. . . .[52]

The newspaper was his sounding board to prove that Christianity was the salvation of nations as well as of individuals.

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[51] Id. to Baynes, Tientsin, 26 June 1890, in Richard MSS., B.M.S.

[52] Id. to id., Tientsin, 20 May 1891, ibid.

A delegation sent from the British Baptist Society in 1890 had the chance to see Richard's work firsthand. They were deeply impressed with his achievements and admired his future plans, but they did not see how he would ever be able to settle down again in the more "humdrum and circumscribed activities of the average mission station."[53] They did not have to worry about it for long because, in 1891, came the invitation from the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge among the Chinese (同文書會), in Shanghai, which was the second great opportunity of his missionary life and which started a new era for him.

This Society, commonly referred to as the S.D.K., was founded by Dr. Alexander Williamson of the United Presbyterian Mission, who had done much work for the missions with the literary contributions of this Society. He died suddenly, just three years after founding the Society, and, because of Richard's work on the Tientsin newspaper and his other writings, the Society in Shanghai invited him to succeed Williamson as Secretary of the S.D.K. His own Society granted him permission and support for the next three years, which permitted him to accept the invitation. Of this appointment, Richard wrote, "God opened up a far wider field of usefulness than I had planned by the establishment of a college in each of the provincial capitals."[54] In October, 1891, he moved to Shanghai to take up the work which he was to carry on uninterruptedly, happily, and with much success for the next twenty-five years.

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[53] Ernest Payne, The Great Succession (London, 1938), p. 139.

> The work I am now engaged in I enjoy immensely. . . . There is a large number of missionaries throughout the provinces offering their assistance. As we are endeavoring to form executive committees in every province the scope is so vast that if we had ten times our income it would be well spent, for at present many mission stations have to stop work on account of the anti-Christian and anti-foreign riots.
>
> Our Society aims at removing their objections by showing the value of Christianity and Christian civilization in every department--individual, local, national, and international. When the Chinese thoroughly understand this, then, under the blessing of God the Chinese will welcome foreigners everywhere and especially missionaries as their very best friends.[55]

The S.D.K. was interdenominational and international, and, by a steady stream of magazines, newspapers, books, pamphlets, and essays in the Chinese Recorder, Richard wielded a decisive influence in opening China to Western knowledge. His position at Shanghai gave him contact with all parts of the Empire. He instructed officials on means of reforms and the development of China; he translated works that acquainted the Chinese with Western governments, history, industries, education, and all facets of civilization; he wrote against riots and antiforeign and anti-Christian demonstrations, pointing out to the Government the officially sponsored fallacies contained in the "Blue Books" (皇朝經世文續編). These contained foul things about missionaries, especially Roman Catholics. The foulest things seemed to have been written by a Hanlin at Peking, Koh Shi-jui (葛士濬) and other calumnies bore the name, Wang Wen-shao (王文韶). Richard challenged the leaders in Peking to do away with this menace by insisting upon a more tolerant attitude on the part of officials.[56]

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[54] Forsyth, Shantung, p. 212.

[55] Richard to Baynes, Tientsin, 17 February 1892, in Richard MSS., B.M.S.

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[56] These remarks about the "Blue Books" were found in a paper by Timothy Richard, published in the Records of the Missionary Conference held at Shanghai in 1890. Published by the North China Herald Press, Shanghai, 1890.

Richard also interested himself in educational projects in Shanghai, in the first public school there, and in the Anti-Footbinding Society. In 1896-1897 he was given his second furlough, visiting India on the way home, and paying a brief visit to the United States. The S.D.K. Society itself had suggested that he make a personal visit to England and the United States in order to publicize the needs of China and to try to interest people in supporting the work of the Society in order to relieve those needs.

Richard made a second visit to the United States in April, 1900, in order to take part in the Ecumenical Conference held in New York. He was a listed speaker at the Conference, delivering a paper on "Christian Literature," from which was taken the sentence which later became the motto of the Christian Literature Society, "Christian Literature should be co-extensive with the work of God and commensurate with the needs of man."[57] During the days of the Conference, Richard made an abortive effort to alert its members to the dangers to which the China missionaries were exposed because of an increasingly virulent antiforeign campaign that was fast developing throughout China. The Committee decided that the issue was more political than religious and that they should not interfere.[58] In Washington, D.C., where he had gone to plead the missioners' cause, he was well received by Secretary of State John Hay, who advised him that the Government could not act without some overt act of violence to justify interference.[59] Within two weeks of that answer the Boxer massacre began.

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[57] Id., "Christian Literature," a paper read at the Central Presbyterian Church, New York City, 30 April 1900, in Ecumenical Missionary Conference, Vol. I (New York, 1900), pp. 549-52.

It was Richard's strong conviction that the cause of this massacre lay in ignorance, superstition, and resentment of injustice. That is why he had hammered away so much at his literary projects on reform and regenerative measures for the Empire. Among Richard's writings relating to China's reforms, one was particularly important. It was entitled "The New Policy" written on 25 September 1896, and published in the Wan

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[58] Richard, Forty-five Years, p. 295.

[59] Bowser, "Outline of Life and Work of Timothy Richard," p. 2.

Kuo Kung Pao (萬國公報), Vol. LXXXVII. In this article Richard offered concrete programs for the intellectual (教民), economic (養民), social (安民), and spiritual (新民) development of the Chinese people.[60] More than any other missionary, he had been the friend and advisor of the reformers, especially K'ang Yu-wei (康有為). These reformers were a group of Hanlins, stung and humiliated by the defeat that Japan had meted out to China in 1895 and resolved to embark on a reform program as the only way to help China save herself. K'ang Yu-wei was their acknowledged leader. Influenced by his writings, a number of intelligent young men formed Reform Society branches in many of the leading cities. Often they came to Richard for help in revising their rules and in discussing plans to implement their reforms.[61]

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[60] This essay was reproduced in Wu-Hsu Pien-Fa (The Reform Movement of 1898) (戊戌变法) ed. by Chieh Pai-tsan (翦伯贊) and others. Shanchow Kuo-kwang She (神州國光社) Shanghai, Vol. III (September, 1953), pp. 232-41.

[61] Richard, Forty-five Years, pp. 252-55.

In a tribute to Richard, W. Hopkyn Rees, a fellow-missioner said:

> China never saw a greater man than Timothy Richard, a man who carved his name indelibly on the history, religion, and ideals of China. One of the leaders, K'ang Yu-wei, "the modern sage of China" told me that Dr. Richard, Gladstone, and Bismarck were the three greatest men he had ever seen, greatest in the most important things, and that Dr. Richard was the man who had done the most to renew the face of China, "and he saved me in terrible times" he added in a trembling voice, "and led and enlightened China into the ways of the better life."[62]

In 1898 the young emperor, Kuang Hsu (光緒) appointed K'ang Yu-wei secretary of the Tsungli Yamen and issued a bold series of edicts during the "Hundred Days Reform Movement." K'ang invited Richard to be one of the Emperor's advisers, for Kuang Hsu had been studying some of his books and had ordered all the publications of the Christian Literature Society. But the very day fixed for Richard to have his first audience with the Emperor was that chosen by the Empress-Dowager characters for her coup d'etat to check reform.[63] The Emperor was taken into custody by the

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[62] Unpublished papers in the Wyre Lewis Collection, Aberystwyth; trans. Monica Davies.

[63] Richard, Forty-five Years, pp. 265-66.

Empress through the perfidy of Yuan Shih-kai (袁世凱). The Reform leaders were either killed or forced to flee. They fled to Japan, Macao, Hong Kong, or America. Liang Chi-chao got to Japan and K'ang Yu-wei to Hong Kong. Timothy Richard played a very important part in enabling K'ang to escape. According to K'ang's own narration reported in the 7 October 1899, issue of the China Post in Hong Kong, he recalled that when he learned of the Empress-Dowager's order to arrest him, Richard asked him to hide himself at his home. However, as Emperor Kuang Hsu wished him to go abroad, he took the ship "Chungking" leaving Tientsin on 21 September 1898. When he arrived at Wu-sung (吴淞口) on 24 September, he was met by R. Breman, British Consul at Shanghai. He was immediately transferred to the British gunboat, H.M.S. Esk, thus avoiding the pursuit projected by the Empress. K'ang attributed all this to Richard's previous arrangement with Sir C. Macdonald, British Minister to China.[64]

The whole Reform program was replaced by Conservative rulings. The prevailing and increasing antiforeign sentiment became a nagging concern. Richard commented on it frequently in his letters to the Baptist Society in London.

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[64] Wu-Hsü Pien-Fa (The Reform Movement of 1899), op. cit., Vol. III, p. 512.

> The China question is one of the greatest international bones of contention . . . Lord Charles Beresford while staying here on his way to Peking honored me with a long interview, sought by him, as I had just come back from Peking, and had known many of the leaders of the Reform, and asked me what the foreign Powers should do in China now. I said I couldn't answer offhand but would write to him later if he wished. He said he would be glad to know my views. I therefore drew up the enclosed and sent it to him a few days ago--a scheme based on a Universal Peace Union.[65]

And on another occasion, he wrote,

> China is a warming pot but the boiling and bursting point may be nearer than we think. There is, I fear, less safety in China than there used to be. The Foreign Powers can, however, make it one of the safest in the world if only they unite in one policy which shall be for the good of all. The unrest arises more from want of unity in Christendom than anything else here right now. I hold proof of this in a document sent me this week from one of the Chief Ministers in Peking.[66]

An ultrareactionary regime with the Empress Dowager, Tzu Hsi, at the helm now ruled China. Uninformed and bigoted, Her Imperial Majesty proceeded to find her own solution to the Empire's problems by endorsing a fanatical antiforeign outbreak, the Boxer Uprising, which brought about an even greater crisis for China. The Boxers, made up of secret societies and local militia, murdered foreign missionaries and destroyed their property in many parts of North China. The mad antiforeign drive ended in total disaster, and the Boxer Protocol (1901) imposed severe punitive terms. In Shansi, the most wholesale butchery of Christians had taken place and it was feared that the Allies would seek vengeance on the province as they had in other places. The Chinese plenipotentiaries, Prince Ching and Li Hung-chang, asked Richard to try to save the province and to work out a plan of restitution for the massacre of two hundred missionaries and their families. The Chinese expected to have to pay large indemnities to the families of the slain missioners, but Richard countered that their blood was too sacred to be reckoned in money.[67]

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[65] _Id._ to Baynes, Shanghai, 29 October 1898, in Richard MSS., B.M.S.

[66] _Id._ to _id._, Shanghai, 27 January 1899, _ibid_.

In April, 1901, Tsun Chun-hsuan, the Governor of Shansi, wrote Richard,

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[67] Richard, Forty-five Years, pp. 298-99.

> At present the Roman Catholics have the acting Bishop in Shansi and have already been lent 100,000 taels to relieve the Christians. But as there is not a single Protestant missionary in Shansi we have no means of consulting them about what to do and therefore are in extreme difficulty.
>
> We have heard that you are eminent for being fair in all your dealings with China and having been in Shansi before all the people believe in you as upright. Both officials and people are unanimous in this report. Last winter you made inquiries about the Christians and thus we know that you are still interested in this province for which we are very glad. I beg that you should come as a commissioner to settle the missionary troubles of Shansi. We have long known of your kindness of heart and therefore I beg you not to decline. Whenever you leave please wire and we will send civil and military officials to meet you.[68]

In a letter to his Society in London, Richard wrote that he had notified the representatives of other Mission Societies that the Governor of Shansi was sedning an escort of soldiers to take inland any who wished to go. Eight Protestant missionaries decided to start back.

> The main object in going now is to take advantage of a governor who is willing to make amends for the injuries we have suffered and to reinstate the missionaries in the eyes of the officials, gentry, and people as honorable and good men and not bad men worthy of death as the former governor had declared them to be in order to incite the people to rise up and kill them . . . The presence of the

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[68] Tsun Chun-hsuan to Richard, Shansi, 23 April 1901, in Richard MSS., B.M.S.

> missionaries is likely to induce the Chinese officials to be readier to make indemnities to the Christians who have suffered so severely at their hands.[69]

After telling Baynes how he had distributed some relief funds and of the disposition he had made of the personal effects of some of the martyred missionaries, Richard continued:

> I had several long interviews with Li Hung-chang and his chief advisers and they begin to realize that the course of religious persecution on which some of them have been bent for many years involves social, intellectual, national and international consequences of which they had no conception before. On this account I was asked by Li and his chief adviser, Chow Fu, who was lately the provincial treasurer of Szechuan, to draw up some regulations on this subject before I returned to Shanghai. I replied that the subject could not be disposed of so easily. They ought to know the relation of all great states to religion . . .[70]

Two months later Richard reported to Baynes that he had just received another long dispatch from the Governor of Shansi giving an account of the settlement of affairs there.

> Among others he mentions his desire to establish a College for Western Learning in Taiyuan fu so that when the people know the state of the world, the repetition of last year's massacre will be impossible. Again he asks me to go; but if I

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[69] Richard to Baynes, Shanghai, 17 June 1901, in Richard MSS., B.M.S.

[70] *Ibid.*

> cannot he asks me to recommend one who shall be the president of this college. Naturally, I think of some member of our own mission. . . .[71]
>
> As to anything I can do for any of my brethren in Shansi or Shensi or elsewhere I need not tell you that I shall always gladly do all I can.
>
> I am strongly pushing an educational scheme on Shansi at the expense of the Chinese Government under the guidance of a missionary in the hope that it will encourage friendly relations between missionaries and officials. Whether it will succeed or not it is too premature yet to say.[72]

Yet it was not long after this that Richard wrote to Baynes about the College becoming a reality.

> Here is a matter of immense importance arising out of the settlement of the missionary troubles in Shansi. . . .
>
> That while the Protestant Missions did not claim an indemnity for the lives of missionaries and native converts who were massacred in Shansi, still they thought that the sum of 500,000 taels (about £66,000) should be set apart, not for the payment to foreigners or native Christians, but, for the purpose of establishing a college where Western learning should be taught and thus remove the cause of Boxerism--ignorance and superstition --and make a repetition of the massacre impossible in the future. The Chinese plenipotentiaries at once approved of this plan and the native papers were loud in their praise of it as "overcoming evil with good." But the Governor of Shansi has moved slowly. . . .
>
> The first installment of 100,000 taels (£13,000) is to be paid within two months. The whole sum is to be paid to me and with it comes the responsibility of making the College a success. I felt this would be approved by you and

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[71] Id. to id., 26 August 1901, ibib.

[72] Id. to id., Shanghai, 28 September 1901, ibid.

> the B.M.S. Of course, I consulted with my colleagues about it from the beginning and had their full approval.
>
> The completion of this negotiation is only the commencement of other problems, viz., how to get qualified men able to teach in Chinese and suitable textbooks in Chinese. And there is a time limit. Ten years is the limit within which to make the College a success and turn out some hundreds of valuable men to meet China's needs. I do not intend to go to Shansi myself but get some qualified missionaries to undertake the college work.[73]

A little later Richard notified his Society in London:

> I have asked the Rev. Moir Duncan of our English Baptist Mission to take the principalship of the Shansi University and he has accepted.
>
> I hope there is not one on the Committee who will consider this as robbing the Society of one of its missionaries but on the contrary will thank God for the step as your missionary is thereby placed in a position where he can exercise far greater influence than before, for he will be the teacher of the picked students throughout the whole Province of 108 counties. Moreover this work is self-supporting and you have the funds formerly given to Mr. Duncan now free to engage another good man . . .
>
> As our aim is to make the Shansi University a lever for the uplifting of the leaders of the whole province to the level of the Kingdom of Heaven as conceived in modern days I beg for it the prayerful sympathy of every member of the Committee.[74]

At the end of March 1902, Timothy Richard went to Shansi for the purpose of establishing Shansi University (山西大學堂). He wrote to London that three noteworthy events had happened in the three and one half month interim:

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[73] *Id.* to *id.*, Shanghai, 13 November 1901, *ibid.*

[74] *Id.* to *id.*, Shanghai, 26 March 1902, *ibid.*

1) The University proposed by me to the Baptist Missionary Society in 1885-86 is now already opened at the expense of the Chinese Government and your Missionary, Rev. Moir Duncan, is the principal of the Foreign Department. There are six foreign professors and six native professors not counting the professors in the Chinese Department. The Governor gave us the best buildings in the city until the new buildings are ready.

When I suggested in the same scheme a similar educational institution be started in the capital of each of the eighteen provinces Max Müller remarked to me that youth would often plant trees that would grow to the sky but Heaven takes care that they don't! Notwithstanding this damper from such an eminent student of the world, the Chinese Government, since we insisted last year on the establishment of a university in Shansi to remove ignorance, the cause of misunderstanding and the ruin of China, has repeatedly urged by edicts the establishment of a university in each province. Now Shantung has opened one; Chihli has opened one; Honan is raising money for one in its capital; and several of the southern provinces are doing the same.

2) Immediately a University is established the poverty of the Chinese language in university textbooks is apparent. On my way down from Shansi, Yuen, the successor of Li Hung-chang asked me to stay for a few days at his newly-opened university under the charge of my old friend, Dr. Tenney. I took advantage of the opportunity to suggest the desirability of uniformity in the translation of new books needed by new China. He approved of the idea, said he would use his influence with the governors of three other provinces, and in the meanwhile, asked me and Dr. Tenney to draft some general principles for the guidance of this translation department.

3) Since arriving in Peking I have had private interviews with every one of the chief members of the government--mostly lasting about

> two hours. On 3rd July an Edict was issued committing the Chinese Foreign Office to consult me in regard to how to secure better understanding between the Christians and the people at large.[75]

An edict by the Empress Dowager earlier had appointed Richard and Roman Catholic Bishop Alphonse Favier (1837-1905) of Peking to be religious advisors to the Government on everything pertaining to Christian Missions and the Chinese officials. The two men were in the process of working out directives for the missionaries of all religions when Bishop Favier unexpectedly died. Richard continued his work and drew up a code for all missioners regardless of their religious affiliation.[76] These were approved by the Viceroy, Chow Fu, and in 1905 by the Roman Catholic Archbishop in London, who promised to forward them to Pope Pius X with a strong recommendation for their approval and adoption for the future in China.[77]

One of the greatest sorrows of Timothy Richard's life occurred on July 10, 1903 when his wife, Mary

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[75] Id. to id., Shanghai, 10 July 1902, ibid.

[76] These regulations are listed in Appendix B, supra.

[77] Richard, Forty-five Years, pp. 316-17.

Martin Richard, age 59, died of cancer. She had been an excellent wife and mother, a most zealous missionary, loved and revered by all. She revealed her religious orientation when she wrote: "I still try to repeat every morning, 'God is love and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God and God in him'. Thinking of God is always my best help."[78] Another time she had written,

> What a time of discipline this whole life of ours, and what infinite pains Our loving Father takes to mould us after the pattern He has planned for us. May you and I yield ourselves completely up to His fashioning hand.[79]

After the loss of his wife, Richard worked incessantly on those matters nearest to his heart: education, world peace, and the Christian Literature Society of China. He encouraged the efforts of the Chinese Government to open the first public school in China, at Shanghai, in 1903.[80] In that same year, he was elected president of the Educational Association of

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[78] Mary Martin Richard to Eleanor and Mary Richard, Taiyuanfu, undated, in Napier MSS.

[79] Obituary of Mary Martin Richard, Chinese Recorder, Vol. XXXIV, No. 9 (September, 1903), p. 454.

[80] Richard, Forty-five Years, p. 317.

China for a three-year term. A year later he was elected secretary of the International Red Cross Society in Shanghai, which raised over 300,000 taels for the relief of the sufferers who were the innocent victims of the Russo-Japanese War. The bulk of unrelieved sufferers were the Chinese who were driven from their homes by the two combatants fighting on Chinese territory. For this work Richard was given the Red Cross medal.[81] The Shanghai branch of the Red Cross owed its origin to Shen Tun-ho, who sought advice and help from Richard, and the society was formed as a result of that consultation.[82]

In his efforts to end the War Richard visited both President Theodore Roosevelt and the British Ambassador to China, Sir James Bryce, with mediation proposals.

"In my Biography [Reeve, Timothy Richard, D.D.]," he wrote a friend,

> Walshe refers to my efforts towards universal peace and refers to the Arbitration Treaty now in progress between England and the United States

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[81] Bowser, "Outline of Life and Work of Timothy Richard," p. 2.

[82] "The International Red Cross Society of Shanghai, 1904-1906," Chinese Recorder, Vol. XXXVII, No. 8 (August, 1906), p. 455.

> as some of the fruit of my labor as I visited President Roosevelt and our Ambassador Bryce on the subject some years ago.[83]

Then he went to Peking with a proposal to prevent another foreign war. This was in the nature of a Federation of China, in which seven or eight of the leading nations of the world, on a basis of reciprocity, would be willing to unite their armaments to police the world instead of fighting one another.[84] This proposal was submitted to the International Peace Society in Lucerne in 1905 with the request that it be drawn up as a resolution to be considered at the Hague Conference of 1907. Prince Ching and the Foreign Office of China approved it. So did the Japanese Prime Minister, Prince Ito.[85]

The Reverend C. W. Wilson and the Reverend W. Y. Fullerton were sent by the B.M.S. of London to make a visitation of the Baptist Missions in North China in the autumn of 1907. In a subsequent letter to the home office, they proposed that:

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[83] Richard to Timothy Morgan, Shanghai, 30 December 1911, in Napier MSS.

[84] Id. to Principal T. F. Roberts, Shanghai, 22 October 1913, in Timothy Richard Collection, National Library, Aberystwyth.

[85] Bowser, "Outline of Life and Work of Timothy Richard," p. 4.

> Dr. Richard should himself be set free from the restraints of office routine, that he might devote his time and his energy, as occasion offers, to the work of China in all parts of China.
>
> He has a unique reputation, the highest doors are open to him, his brethren in the great cities will be cheered and stimulated by a visit from him, the Chinese seats of learning will be accessible to him, and the students will gladly hear him. Others might be found to take his place in the office, and even in translating books, although his inspiration and leading should never be withdrawn from the Christian Literature Society while his vigor remains. But none but he can perform this little bit of service that now needs to be accomplished.
>
> We recommend, therefore, that the Baptist Mission Society give Dr. Richard a roving commission as our Apostle in China, and that he be left free to determine his own work, accepting such invitations as may seem to him to offer opportunities of advancing the Kingdom of God, and of hastening the day when China shall be obedient to the Faith.[86]

Over the years Richard had built up an extensive library with books of every category. In 1909, the Directors of the Christian Literature Society made a public expression of gratitude for his gift of 7,700 volumes that Richard gave to the library of the Society. The Society considered it fresh evidence of Richard's devotion to the Society and of his wholehearted labors for China.[87]

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[86] E. Y. Fullerton and C. E. Wilson, Report on the China Missions of the Baptist Missionary Society (London, 1908), pp. 42-43.

In 1910, Richard was a delegate from China to the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh. The Conference was chaired by Dr. John R. Mott of the Young Men's Christian Association. Richard was one of the featured speakers. In his speech which, as he put it,

> was naturally on the need for Christian Literature, [he] pointed out that the strength of a chain was in its weakest link, and that the weakest link in missionary operations in China was valuable Christian literature.[88]

When he returned to China, he handed over Shansi University to the Chinese authorities, as the ten year agreement had expired. The Imperial Government ennobled him and his ancestors for three generations, all with the highest rank of first button. He had previously received other honors from the Government in recognition of his work on behalf of China. Seven years before, the Government conferred on him the rank of Mandarin with a Red button, which was the highest grade. In 1907 it gave him the title of Double Dragon, second order, second grade.[89]

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[87] Twenty-second Annual Report of the Christian Literature Society for China for Year Ending September, 1909 (Shanghai, 1909), p. 22.

[88] Richard, Forty-five Years, p. 332.

Other institutions in both Europe and the United States had also taken cognizance of his outstanding labors on behalf of education, Christian literature, world peace, and the betterment of the world. In 1895, Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia, accorded him an honorary Doctor of Divinity degree.[90] In 1901, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, conferred on him an honorary Litt. D. Richard felt honored by this distinction from a prestigious University, and, together with his message of thanks, he sent Brown University a copy of his latest Report on the English Baptist Mission.[91]

The culmination of these academic honors came when on Saturday, July 15th, 1916, the University of Wales at Aberystwyth admitted the Rev. Timothy Richard, D.D., Litt.D. to the degree of *Doctor in Legibus, honoris causa*. Actually, the conferment of the degree had been decided upon at a University Court meeting on November 21, 1913, but the University waited until Dr. Richard could return to his native land to receive it.[92]

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[89] Bowser, "Outline of the Life and Work of Timothy Richard," p. 3.

[90] Soothill, *Timothy Richard*, p. 323.

[91] Richard to Baynes, Shanghai, 2 August 1901, in Richard MSS., B.M.S.; *id.* to Thomas D. Anderson, Shanghai, 30 July 1901, *ibid.*

Timothy Richard had been a widower for eleven years when, in August, 1914, he married Miss Ethel Tribe, M.D., of Bristol, England, in Yokohama. She had been one of the first women doctors to graduate from London University and for almost twenty years had been a self-supporting medical missionary, first in Amoy, and then in Shanghai for the London Missionary Society. To his nephew Richard wrote,

> After three of my daughters had married and had left me and Ella had gone to visit her sister in Canada, I felt a little need of company and so I was married again last August . . . My daughters who all knew her [my present wife] some years ago have all said that I have chosen the most suitable lady they knew of. Thus I am happy in their hearty approval.[93]

It was a most companionable and happy marriage that lasted until his death five years later.

In his later days Richard became an international figure laboring for peace and good will among nations.

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[92] Extract from the Report of the Proceedings at a Convocation of the National University of Wales, 15 July 1916. Original in Library of the University of Wales, Cathays Park, Cardiff.

[93] Richard to Timothy Morgan, Shanghai, 4 December 1914, in National Library, Aberystwyth.

He visited statesmen in Japan, Germany, France, America, and elsewhere and was always received with respect, even though few were disposed to accept and implement his views.[94] World War I brought him infinite and constant distress of mind and spirit. Early in his missionary life he had written a scheme to promote peace,[95] but it was not until twenty years later that he ventured to broach the idea to anyone in authority. During the last years of his life it was almost like an obsession with him. There are extant some printed leaflets, as well as several notebooks filled with completed essays, outlines, and random thoughts he had jotted down on such topics as "The Invincible Conscience," "How to End Wars," "Out of the Melting Pot," "Neutrality, the Dry Rot of Government," "Settlement of the War," "Some Political and Social Changes to Be Made in the World," "The World Pacifier," "A World Religion for A World's Peace," and the very last essay he wrote (December 7, 1918),

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[94] E. W. Burt, "Timothy Richard: His Contribution to Modern China," in International Review of Missions, Vol. XXXIV (July, 1945), p. 298.

[95] Timothy Richard, "Scheme for World Federation," Taiyuanfu, 1879, in Natinnal Library, Aberystwyth.

"Proposal for the Formation of A League of Religions."[96] At his funeral service four months later, Dr. T. Reavely Glover said, "The thoughts contained in this last great essay were of course a *new* idea, for the *world*, for the *good* of the *whole* world."[97]

All his writings for years had been stressing the idea that the only way to have peace in the world was to form a central federated government for the world with one Army and one Navy to police the whole world; one code of laws, one coinage, and one written language for universal use; free trade throughout the world; all taxation basedon income; a world religion; redistribution of property; equal rights for men and women; liberty of divorce as well as of marriage for husbands and wives; and a final gradiose plan to redivide the earth among all the nations.[98]

His interest in and trend towards socialism was quite evident in his private correspondence as well as in his official writings. He was especially interested in Henry George and his book, Progress and Poverty.[99] He used this work as a basis for his future reform and peace plans. In 1897, he reported to his family on a visit to Socialist headquarters in Chicago.

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[96] Unpublished papers written 1916-18 by Timothy Richard and deposited in Wyre Lewis MSS, National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.

[97] Unpublished talk by T. R. Glover at Golders Green Cemetery, London, 19 April 1919, in National Library, Aberystwyth. Italics his.

[98] Richard MSS, National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.

> I visited the headquarters of the Socialists in Chicago. In their Paper they spoke of trying to get hold of the State of Washington, one of the least populated of the states in the northwest, with a view to working it on Socialistic lines. They were appealing for funds. I said to the secretary that I thought there would be no difficulty about that. "In which way?" he asked, and I told him, "It is singular," he said, "that you should have come to that conclusion, too. I have just been to one of the Banks here, and that Bank will furnish us a million dollars on the terms which you suggest. So we are goind in for that now."
>
> Don't tell people about these Socialistic calls of mine as few Christians understand them.[100]

In New York he heard "a lecture by Professor Zublin of Chicago University on a countryman of mine--William Morris, the Socialist."[101]

Richard and his new wife returned to England in July 10, 1916. It was hoped that he would recover his health by being back on a rest schedule in his native land. After almost three years in England he seemed so much improved that he and his wife decided to return to the Orient, and they booked passage for the early autumn of 1919. However in mid-April he had to be hospitalized. Timothy Richard died unexpectedly and peacefully on April 17, 1919, at the age of 73. His remains were cremated and interred in Golders Green Cemetery in North London (in the same cemetery where Karl Marx was buried). Richard's death was a sorrowful shock for all who knew him and a great loss for China.[102]

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[99] Richard to Mary Martin Richard, Toronto, 8 October 1897, in Napier MSS.

[100] Id. to his wife and daughters, Nashville, Tennessee, 22 October 1897, ibid.

[101] Id. to Mary Martin Richard, New York, 10 April 1900, ibid.

His obituary notices appeared in forty-five English, Scottish, and Welsh newspapers and periodicals; long tributes with detailed summaries of his life appeared in the Peking Daily News, the Peking Leader, the North China Daily News, the Shanghai Mercury, and the China Baptist Herald. A Committee record of the Baptist Missionary Society, commenting on the death of their oldest missionary on active service noted,

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[102] Ethel Tribe Richard, Notes on Timothy Richard's Illness, unpublished paper in Margaret Richard Dixon Collection, Auckland, New Zealand. Hereinafter referred to as Dixon MSS.

> There never was a more passionately earnest missionary. He thought of nothing else but the spread of the Kingdom of God. He felt that his life call was to be an ambassador of Christ, and a herald of universal peace and brotherhood.
>
> He had a liberality of mind which was the wonder of those who loved him, but which sometimes laid him open to disapproval and misunderstanding. There was not a touch of the sectarian about him, though he was always a loyal and honored member of the Baptist Church and of the Baptist Missionary Society. Buoyant, optimistic, fresh in thought, his face was always towards the future, with unquestioning faith in the conquest of Christ and His truth.[103]

The Reverend H. Cerny Williams wrote: "He loved the land of his birth yet he appeared to love the land of his adoption even more; but the patriot was lost in the philanthropist."[104] C. Spurgeon Medhurst, in the North China Daily News wrote:

> His genuine simplicity concealed real greatness. . . . He radiated a generous, kindly majesty. . . . Because of his absorption in far-reaching schemes for the uplift of humanity, seldom thought or talked of himself. He never harbored resentment or belittled those who opposed him. He was above petty, personal interests. . . .
>
> Great as is the monument of Dr. Richard's achievements it is small compared with what he would have accomplished had not lack of vision among his contemporaries, especially during the early part of his life, made him very much a voice crying in the wilderness. He was in advance of his time.
>
> British after the flesh, Dr. Richard was

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[103] Unpublished paper, Wyre Lewis MSS., Aberystwyth

[104] Unpublished paper, trans. Monica Davies, ibid.

> Chinese after the spirit. He was a prince of missionaries.[105]

Of special interest is a testimonial written by one of Richard's Jewish friends in Peking:

> He was ever a friend of the Jewish people. I can hardly forget the good work he did when the Society for the Rescue of Chinese Jews were formed in 1900 and the intense interest taken by him in its welfare. He was a real friend, a real helper, one who worked for the good of all and the God of all. He was free from the taint of race prejudice, bigotry, and narrow-mindedness. The world is better because he lived in it . . .[106]

Dr. Henry Williamson, who knew Richard personally, also paid tribute to his friend on the centenary observance of his birth, observing,

> There is no doubt in my own mind that Timothy Richard was greatly used by God to break down deep-rooted and widespread prejudices against the Christian Missionary Movement in China. The contacts he made with influential officials and the influence of his literary work as General Secretary of the Christian Literature Society for China prepared the way for the political revolution of 1911, which, in its turn, under Christian leadership, led to the enshrinement of religious liberty in the Constitution. The opportunity which this afforded, together with the fact that Christian education (of which Timothy Richard was also a pioneer) had produced men and women ready to step into government positions and other important national posts, imparted a tremendous impetus to

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[105] Spurgeon Medhurst, "A Tribute to Dr. Richard," in North China Daily News, 27 April 1919.

[106] N. E. B. Ezra, "Tribute by a Jew," 20 April 1919, National Library, Aberystwyth.

> the Church and to the promotion of Chinese leadership in Church and State.[107]

This was Timothy Richard whose ideals and ideas of Christian Missions to the non-Christian world will be examined in the following chapters. Perhaps those missionary ideas can be best expressed in this prayer, which he composed and printed for private circulation with the injunction that it be read at least once a week:

Twentieth Century Prayer

> Oh Thou Great One who inhabitest Eternity--the All-wise, the All-just, and the All-merciful Father! To Thee all praise and glory be for ever and ever.
>
> 1. For giving me this wonderful life with power to understand things and to make new combinations of the forces of nature, like a god, and for godlike friends to share and multiply my joy.
>
> 2. For giving me this fair earth as my local kingdom to have dominion over it with its infinite resources visible and invisible, and for the large share of this world's goods which have fallen to my lot.
>
> 3. For giving me my income, which is mainly owing to the accident of birth and the privileges which Christian civilization confers.

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[107] Henry R. Williamson, "To the Friends Who Will Be Assembled at Caio on the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of Timothy Richard," London, 18 July 1945, in Richard MSS., B.M.S.

4. For giving me the example of the holy sages, inspired prophets, and noble statesmen of all lands to show me how to live and to be grateful to Thee.

5. For giving me my Saviour Jesus Christ to establish the kingdom of heaven, which is to bring peace and happiness to the whole earth, for offering me Thy Holy Spirit to dwell within me and to guide me unto all truth and grace, and for adopting me into Thy Divine Family!

6. For giving me the unspeakable honor of joining this kingdom, which strives that there shall be no brother or sister anywhere on earth, in distress or adject poverty, who has not sympathy and plenty and love at hand, and another chance given to play fair the game of life.

7. Help me to do something worthy in return for my countless privileges and not to rest --till this mad race for national armaments which is ruining all nations be stopped; till this needless abject poverty which drives more than a tenth of mankind to slow starvation, despair, and death is ended; till federation, which is the only real permanent universal peace, is secured; till reciprocity, which is the golden rule, is agreed to by all nations; till all the departments necessary for universal peace and progress are established; till love and confidence replace suspicion and hate.

8. Deliver me from the selfishness of using everything for my own comfort or pleasure or for my own family and friends exclusively.

9. Accept my daily sacrifice of at least a part of my time and income (the whole is Thine, not really mine). In token of my gratitude, to be devoted to learning Thy ways and the condition of my suffering fellow men, that I may grow in likeness to Thee from day to day, striving to do Thy will and to remove all sin and suffering within my power from this beautiful earth and to make it full of

> glorious happiness like heaven itself, so that I may be a child worthy of Thee, my Father, God![108]

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[108] Timothy Richard, Some Hints for Rising Statesmen (London, 1905), pp. xi, 1-4.

CHAPTER II

TIMOTHY RICHARD'S RELIGIOUS ORIENTATION

Timothy Richard arrived in the Orient in early 1870, and, for the next forty-five years, China was his home. His life in China may be divided into two periods: the first, 1870-1891, during which he was engaged in evangelical work in the Provinces of Shantung and Shansi, and the second, 1891-1915, when he lived in Shanghai, doing literary work in his capacity as General Secretary of the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge among the Chinese (S.D.K.-- 同文書會).[1]

The pioneer spirit that characterized his days at Haverfordwest manifested itself in his early life in China. Whether it arose from the harmony and peace that etched themselves on his mind as he communed with nature or was a development of his religious training, there appeared early in his career the desire for the immediate application of the Kingdom of Heaven to earthly needs. He abandoned the rendezvous of missionary societies which located in the Port cities, and went to the interior of Shantung Province, where no missioner had ever been before.[2] Here he deviated again from custom by seeking out the "worthy," the spiritually elect of the people, and appealing to the leaders in authority.[3]

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[1] On January 19, 1906, this name was changed to the Christian Literature Society (C.L.S.廣學會) of Shanghai. Inasmuch as that is the name by which it is known today, it is the name used throughout this dissertation.

Another digression from accepted procedure was his thinking and working in terms of "Conversion by the Million," rather than according to the individualistic approach to evangelization. In these matters, Richard felt that he was obeying apostolic injunctions as well as imitating His Divine Master and his favorite apostle Saint Paul.[4]

If missionary efforts throughout the Empire were geared to merely individual conversions Timothy Richard felt that there would be neither sufficient time nor personnel to effect the conversion of China at the propitious opportunity. He utilized a scriptural quotation to lend weight to his view of "Conversion by the Million," "If the angels of God rejoice over the conversion of one sinner, how much more will they rejoice when the millions of all the earth shall turn to the Lord and own Him Lord of all."[5] On that point of view he was publicly vindicated, many years later in London, when an emminent civil servant, the Rev. William Gascoyne Cecil said:

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[2] Richard, Fifteen Years' Missionary Work in China, p. 8.

[3] Id., Forty-five Years, pp. 70, 86, 93.

[4] Ibid., p. 93.

> I read everything that Dr. Richard writes with the greatest interest and regard him as one of the salient figures in the great warfare that is going on between good and evil in China. I do not always agree with what he says. But I agree with one thing he said in a recent paper, when he spoke of the beauty of evangelizing, not individuals but races. That is a point we should think very strongly about. Perhaps if we read the Old Testament a little more carefully, and perhaps a little more prayerfully, that view would come home to us a little more. In the Old Testament we find God deals with the world through races. That is the conception of the salvation of the world; it is not through individuals, it is through races.[6]

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[5] Id., "Conversion by the Million," Chinese Recorder, Vol. XXXIII, No. 10 (October, 1907), p. 542. Richard used the same title for a two-volume work.

[6] Christian Literature Society for China, Report of the London Committee (London, 31 March 1908), p. 18.

Richard himself wrote in a similar vein to his nephew when he recounted the main ideas in a talk he gave on the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the foundation of the first Anglo-Chinese College in Shanghai:

> The missionary benefits countless individuals and a mighty nation like China individually and nationally, and later universally for eternity as well as for time. The Kingdom of God is spreading rapidly before our eyes.[7]

Timothy Richard advocated striving not only to renew men's hearts devotionally, but also to improve men materially, intellectually, socially, nationally, and internationally as an aid in the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth.

> When railways, steamers, telegraphs, roads, etc., are introduced and made for a whole nation it is an immense conversion towards the material welfare of men . . . so we should feel grateful for the development of man's material welfare and praise God for it.
>
> When modern education is adopted throughout any land, it is an immense conversion, turning millions from the darkness of ignorance and superstition to the light of knowledge for which we feel grateful to God.
>
> When better laws, national and international, are adopted by one nation or many nations, it is a conversion of incalculable good for bringing peace and goodwill to untold numbers, for which we feel grateful and praise God.

---

[7] Richard to Timothy R. Morgan, Shanghai, 5 June 1909, in Richard MSS., National Library, Aberystwyth.

> When better laws, national and international, are adopted by one nation or many nations, it is a conversion of incalculable good for bringing peace and goodwill to untold numbers, for which we feel grateful and praise God.
>
> When a nation encourages the study of religion in order to find out what is highest and best, then we feel as if the Kingdom of God were at hand, when God's will shall be done on earth as it is in heaven. That will be a conversion which will sum all individuals into multitudes, which no men will be able to number. . . . The Scripture says: "That was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural; and afterward that which is spiritual."[8]

With this aim in view he devoted his literary energies to producing works that would "inspire rulers with Christian ideals, permeate national institutions with the Christian spirit, and leaven the masses with Christian principles."[9] He hoped that this scheme might be "the beginning of thoughts which would eventually lead very many to think of Christ as the Savior of their own souls as well as of the world at large."[10]

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[8] Id., "Conversion by the Million," loc. cit., p. 542.

[9] B. Reeve, Timothy Richard, D.D., China Missionary, Statesman, Reformer (London, 1910), p. 160.

[10] Richard to Baynes, Taiyuanfu, 4 September 1887, in Richard MSS., B.M.S.

Before long, Richard's Baptist confreres in Shansi disagreed with him about the orthodoxy of his doctrine and of his methods. As was his wont in trials or difficulties, he tried to see a divine plan and to bend his will to the divine will. "The hand of man is very plain in all this matter. May we also be able to trace the hand of God bringing good out of evil."[11]

When it appeared that the Committee leaders of the Baptist Missionary Society in London would believe the allegations made by the other missioners without investigating his views on the disputed matters, Richard felt it necessary to justify himself and his missionary methods. Some of his letters to the London Committee run to twenty or more hand-written pages. He wrote in one,

> The charge made by Turner [in the Shansi Mission] was against my orthodoxy. But as you express your confidence to my "fidelity to the central truths of the Gospel"--as all who know me sufficiently were ready to do--then his charge, even from your standpoint, becomes a libel on me. Everyone to whom I have spoken of it, in our mission and out of it, is surprised that you should allow the libel to pass without a single word of disapproval. . . . I feel it due to you and the Committee to let you know that I spent as much time in Gospel teaching

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[11] *Id.* to *id.*, 13 October 1887, *ibid.*

> --probably more time--than any of my accusers, and certainly a great deal more than several in Shantung, and I fearlessly invite your deputation to enquire minutely into the matter. . . .
>
> Might I therefore once more implore you to keep distinctly apart what I myself advocate and the false inferences drawn from the same by others: and also to grant that the Spirit of God may be guiding us after long experience in China, if not to better methods then it is likely for those at home to know, at least to such as should not be entirely suppressed. If you do this we may then confidently look for better times. . . .[12]

Richard had somewhat unique views of theology. He was not a dogmatic theologian, either by disposition or training. His theological position can be stated in the words that he "desires to promote everything which God has revealed or that man has discovered for the progress of the human race in all departments."[13] He laid no store of much that is traditionally held to be fundamental. He believed that God had left none of the great nations without light from heaven; that those who divided the religions of the world into true and false and went in for destructive criticism and attacks on the native religions did incalculable harm.[14] He used to say that since every nation had its revelation from God, it was a waste of time to spend much energy over the Old Testament as a textbook in schools and colleges, and furthermore, it should not be made a compulsory subject. It was likewise a waste of time to make dogmatic theology a compulsory subject.[15] To him it was more important that "Divine love produced human love; love to God begets love to men."[16]

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[12] *Id.* to *id.*, 23 July 1889, *ibid.*

[13] Samuel M. Jackson, ed., *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge* (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1907-14), Vol. X, p. 27.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 28.

His stance on dogma is explainable by the fact that his mind was more concerned with natural theology as being more immediately helpful in meeting the necessities of the world.

> The Kingdom of God to him embraced the whole of life, now and hereafter, especially now, and as there was nothing without its pale, Christian energies should leave no branch of life or thought untouched.[17]

God was to him the eternal Creator ever revealing Himself. Everything moved and the human mind should keep in step with the universal flux. "As God rules over matter and energy, mind and character, so should the full-grown child of God in his measure."[18]

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[15] Morgan, "Timothy Richard and the Christian Literature Society," in Richard MSS., National Library, Aberystwyth.

[16] Timothy Richard, "The Spiritual Benefits of Christianity," in his "Historical Evidences of Christianity Series," Chinese Recorder, Vol. XXII, No. 6 (June, 1891), p. 248.

[17] T. R. Glover, "A Man of Personality," North China Daily News, 26 April 1919.

> The Chinese could understand him when he told them, "Mencius was quite right when he said, 'Those who obey heaven, shall live; those who disobey heaven shall perish'. Many scholars write these words in their essays; what is wanted now is that they should be written in peoples' hearts and lives.[19]

Here is where he felt the Gospel could achieve its divine mission.

> Consider the benefits conferred by Christianity on the social relations of life. By the Gospel that proclaimed man's relationship to God as His adopted son, destined to live forever, the sacredness of human life, the equality of all classes and races, as brethren of the same household, the claim of the helpless--old, young, and sick--to the support of the strong and able-bodied, and the perfect equality of woman with man as a sister of the same family, were everywhere proclaimed. These views modify the customs and habits of all nations wherever they spread.[20]

It was to help men to right wrongs, to ameliorate human sufferings and to bring peace and joy into the world. The Kingdom of Heaven was to be now and was to be concerned with human bodies as well as with men's souls.[21]

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[18] Timothy Richard, "God's Various Methods of Blessing Mankind," Chinese Recorder, Vol. XXV, No. 6 (June, 1894), p. 275.

[19] *Id.*, "The Spiritual Benefits of Christianity," *ibid.*, Vol. XXII, No. 4 (April, 1891), p. 176.

[20] *Id.*, "The Social Benefits of Christianity," *ibid.*, Vol. XXI, No. 11 (November, 1890), p. 500.

The knowledge of the wonders of the universe and of the works of God in Nature, which he had obtained and increased through observation, reading, and study, found a response in his mind. "Through Nature to God" was a great and oft-repeated theme which found a corresponding idea in that of through Nature to the needs of man. He sincerely believed that human miseries could be relieved and even prevented by a true knowledge of the laws of Nature and their application to human life.[22] That is why he studied science in South Kensington and why he solicited permission from his Society, while he was home on furlough, to visit the educational centers of Germany and France before returning to Shanghai.[23] He then chose the Universities in Paris, Berlin, Munich, Leipsig, Vienna, and Naples because he thought these were the most advanced in themselves and most desirable to visit both to interest men in missions and to see the best appliances for education.[24] He did this, he wrote, because

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[21] Glover, "Man of Personality," loc. cit.

[22] Timothy Richard, "God's Various Methods of Blessing Mankind," loc. cit., p. 282.

[23] Id. to Baynes, Edinburgh, 31 October 1885, in Richard MSS., B.M.S.

> It occurred to me that the best way to remove this superstition [feng-shui 風水] was to teach the natural sciences, such as, astronomy, physics, chemistry. I maintain that the study of science ought to be held in as much reverence as religion, for it deals with the laws of God. Therefore, I drafted a scheme for a series of science textbooks to be prepared for the Chinese.[25]

For three years, Richard delivered monthly lectures to the officials and scholars in Taiyuanfu at their own request.

> In all the lectures I pointed out how God had provided infinite powers for man's use in the forces of Nature, in ignorance of which men lived like drudges and slaves. . . . The matter of supreme importance was that we should study all the laws of God in Nature, so as to gain the benefits that God intended to bestow upon us when He stored up all these forces for our use, and then show our gratitude for all His Loving kindness by obeying His spiritual laws.[26]

Richard felt that God manifested Himself not only in revelations of the mind but in Nature as well. There was a natural and universal testimony in the sea and in the stars, in heaven and on earth. The witness to divinity was always at hand. Richard's concern for a greater appreciation of the divine image in science seems analogous to Teilhard de Chardin's concern about the same thing sixty years later. Richard's efforts to get others to see the workings of God and His message for us in Nature are repeated in Teilhard de Chardin's

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[24] *Id*. to *id*., Cardiff, 19 November 1885, *ibid*.

[25] *Id*., *Forty-five Years*, p. 123.

[26] *Ibid*., p. 163.

> words of a man who, because he believes himself to feel deeply in tune with his own times, has sought to teach how to see God everywhere, to see Him in all that is most hidden, most solid, and most ultimate in the world.[27]

> Our spiritual being is continually nourished by the countless energies of the tangible world. . . . We shall be astonished at the extent and the intimacy of our relationship with the universe.[28]

And again, "All reality, even material reality, around each one of us, exists for our souls."[29]

For a time, the Chinese Government would not permit foreigners to teach Christianity in their colleges and Timothy Richard lamented the fact that Confucianism was fast appropriating the benefits of Christianity to itself. He felt there was a kind of "religious plagiarism" going on that would pass away as soon as prejudice against Our Lord gave way to respect.

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[27] Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, The Divine Milieu (New York, 1960), p. 15.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

[29] *Ibid.*

> The Chinese Government will not sanction the free teaching of Christianity by these men [missionaries] in their colleges. The result is, that in most cases Confucianism is fast appropriating the benefits of Christianity to itself, and, under its own name, will sanction what it never could have attained without Christianity. It is a sort of religious or missionary plagiarism that is going on. Good will no doubt accrue to the people in the end, but they means which bring it about are scarcely honorable to Confucianism, which builds new temples in praise of Confucius whilst it receives benefits from Christ. . . . What we chiefly mourn for now is that Christianity is prevented from full and free exercise of its power, on the one hand, by the action of societies at home, and on the other by the more excusable checks of the Chinese Government.[30]

For those intelligent men who were anxious to know better but who thought that all religious leaders, except the Confucianists, were well-intentioned but ignorant, Richard drew up some guidelines to study. These also were criticized by his confreres. Richard emphasized that this particular curriculum was not primarily a guide to salvation but a guide for those who wished to become Christian leaders; that the outline did not intend to teach the plan of salvation and therefore the "cardinal doctrines" were intentionally left out; and that he did not present arithmetic, geology, and astronomy as necessary to salvation. In this guide book he

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[30] Timothy Richard, Wanted: Good Samaritans for China, pamphlet (London, 1885), p. 16.

> called attention to the anniversaries of the Birth, Death, and Resurrection of Our Lord as special times when those Christians living too far away for ordinary Sunday services might come in with advantage as those days would impress on their minds the essential doctrines of the Divinity and Power of Our Lord and His great atonement on the Cross.[31]

In the guide book Richard was also careful to avoid "Romish" teaching and defended his use of Roman Catholic sources on the grounds that there was a dearth of Protestant sources. He decried the narrow mindedness of most of his co-workers who believed that everything Roman Catholics came from the devil and that everything heathen was not only unchristian but also from the devil.

> I don't believe the Mohammedans are unchristian in their worship of one true God instead of

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[31] *Id.* to Baynes, Shansi, 12 May 1887, in Richard MSS., B.M.S.

> idols. I don't believe that the high moral teaching of any religion is devilish and unchristian. Christianity has the power of assimilating all that is good in other religions. We come here to counteract their false teachings and to fill up what is wanting just as Christ came not to destroy but to fulfill.[32]

Richard wrote three little books, A Christian Message to the Buddhists, A Christian Message to the Confucianists, and A Christian Message to the Taoists, so as "to guide them from their position to Jesus Christ, the only Savior of the World."[33]

When the Committee members of the Baptist Missionary Society in London appeared to side with the dissident Shansi and Shantung missionaries against him he wrote in the prolonged conflict over orthodoxy and mission methods, in much anguish,

> Let Charity abound more and more. We must let each other alone, for Christ has many members in one body and has distributed different gifts to different members. This has always been my principle with every colleague I have had. Let all bear in mind that the holy men of old who did succeed in mission work were also men of God and were led by His Spirit of God that we learn their ways before we try new experiments ourselves.[34]

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[32] Id. to id., Shansi, 18 May 1894, ibid.

[33] Id. to id., Shanghai, 18 May 1894, ibid.

[34] Id. to id., Peking, 25 January 1888, ibid. (Italics his.)

Some months later, when the situation still had not cleared he wrote,

> Our Lord's great standard is "By their fruits ye shall know them." We vary in degrees of light and knowledge as well as in other gifts. If, therefore, we have not attained to that height of knowledge, charity, and Christian perfection where we can recognize Christ's Spirit in ALL its various manifestations, then, instead of interfering with each other's works, should we not rather humbly and quietly choose our respective plots of ground in the Lord's vineyard and work there diligently, so that our brethren and the world in due time, seeing our good works may glorify Our Father?"[35]

Since the difficulty could not be immediately and amicably resolved Timothy Richard decided, as he had advised the London Committee members he would, to "go elsewhere where I shall be most useful to Christ's cause in China, and where I shall be free to act as God has taught me."[36] Sad, but without rancor, Richard and his family moved from the scene of their successful evangelical ventures in Shansi to Tientsin and Peking. He had no clear-cut idea of just where to go or what to do but he felt that God would direct him in the right way. The strain of the long drawn-out conflict weakened Richard, and he collapsed with a dangerous illness. It was several weeks before he was able to move about and more than a year before he was fully recovered. Though his doctor forbade him to preach, he tried it; but the effort left him very weak.

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[35] _Id_. to _id_., Peking, 25 January 1888, _ibid_.

[36] _Id_. to _id_., Shansi, 12 May 1887, _ibid_.

Two years later he was offered the editorship of a Chinese daily. He sought the advice of the leading missionaries in the area, and after much consultation and prayer he accepted the offer.[37]

> . . . in July 1890, an offer was made to me, through the Viceroy [Li Hung-chang] and some personal friends, to become the editor of a daily paper in Chinese, called the Shih Pao (時報). This I accepted. The appointment was most providential.
>
> I wrote on many subjects bearing on reform in China. I also published a weekly edition, and in this I had comparative diagrams showing the relative areas of populations, railways, telegraphs, and commerce of the nations of the world. These diagrams proved probably one of the greatest forces in compelling intelligent Chinese to advocate reform.[38]

During the year that he edited the Shih Pao (時報) in Tientsin, Richard used it for Christian propaganda, aiming constantly at showing how Christianity is the salvation of nations as well as of individuals. His writings were always interspersed with Scriptural references to prove to all that it was God's plan and not his own that he advocated. Though he protested to the Committee that the actions of some of his Baptist colleagues in North China robbed him and other missionaries of their peace of mind and liberty of conscience; he hoped that during this interim the difficulties in the Shansi and Shantung missions would be settled by the Baptist Committee in London. He tried to make these officials view the matter from his own universal and religious-orientated concept

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[37] Id. to id., Tientsin, 26 June 1890, ibid.

[38] Id., Forty-five Years, p. 215.

> If among twenty men you sanction the views of only one man, you may have only one chance in twenty of success; but if you see that all are thoroughly trained in the principles of missionary work as actually carried out by successful men, past and present, and give them freedom, then you have twenty chances of success. . . . I did not wish to force my policy on them; is it necessary to force theirs on me? Is God's blessing limited to one method? Must everyone put on Saul's armor whether it fits or not?[39]

A few days later, he wrote again in considerable agitation,

> Those who rob me of your confidence undermine everything, even take away my missionary life. I hope my reply will show that most of this underhand abuse is really, if not a black calumny, a very distorted and highly-colored misrepresentation, produced by an imperfect theology that magnifies unenlightened conscience over charity, and even over common justice. I hope it will also give a truer view of the whole case so as to restore that confidence of

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[39] Id. to Baynes, Peking, 19 October 1888, in Richard MSS., B.M.S.

which they would rob me in your opinion.[40]

Several weeks later he again wrote to the Committee members in London

> If God has endowed us with various gifts it is like blindfolding the eyes or fettering the feet to interfere with their free action . . . I want no license but freedom from unnecessary control and in striving to get this I am striving for the greatest efficiency of the whole mission and for every colleague--not for self.[41]

This lamentable misunderstanding was ended when he was appointed to the position of General Secretary of the Christian Literature Society in Shanghai, in 1891.

Richard firmly believed that God's manifestations were perfectly obvious in revelations of the mind. The heart and experiences of man were a great foundation of revelation, an unfailing source of inspiration, an infallible evidence of divine providence, a witness and a universal testimony to divine power. Every race and every religion had proved that, for all religions were a phase of the truth. "We are the true sons of God, able to create new worlds."[42] The sum of human experience in the religious sphere was great and would be a firm and unassailable proof of the presence of the divine mind in human life.[43]

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[40] *Id.* to Baynes, Peking, 23 October 1888, in Richard, *MSS.*, B.M.S.

[41] *Id.* to *id.*, Peking, 30 October 1888, *ibid.*

[42] *Id.*, "God's Various Methods of Blessing *Mankind*," *loc. cit.*, p. 276.

Again, an analogy with Teilhard de Chardin comes to mind. On this same subject of the divine in man he wrote,

> Through the unceasing operation of the Incarnation, the divine so thoroughly permeates all our creaturely energies that, in order to encounter and embrace it, we would not find a more appropriate milieu than that of our action.
>
> To begin with, in action I cleave to the creative power of God; I coincide with it; I become not only its instrument but its living prolongation. And since there is nothing more personal in a being than its will, I merge myself, in a sense, through my heart, with the very heart of God.[44]

> He [God] is waiting for us at every moment in our action, in our work of the moment. He is in some sort at the tip of my pen, my spade, my brush, my needle--of my heart and of my thought.[45]

> That all things for me should be contact with you [Lord].[46]

> Try, with God's help, to perceive the connection--even physical and natural--which binds your labor

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[43] Morgan, "Timothy Richard and the Christian Literature Society," p. 5, in Richard MSS., National Library, Aberystwyth.

[44] Teilhard de Chardin, The Divine Milieu, p. 31.

[45] Ibid., p. 33.

[46] Ibid., p. 106.

with the building of the Kingdom of Heaven.[47]

It is interesting to note that Richard, in his Oriental milieu, wrote similar expressions even before Teilhard de Chardin was born.

Timothy Richard believed that the heroes, sages, and prophets of the past, though not all-powerful, all-wise, all-good, were the highest temporary manifestation of the Divine in human form. As the Chinese had been eminent in ethics, righteousness, propriety, knowledge, and benevolence, Richard cited these as proof that China was being led to the truth by the Spirit of God and that the development of these principles was essential to sound progress.[48] That is why he constantly besieged various missionary societies, including his own, to send their ablest men from home for the various provinces in China. He felt it was a divine opportunity being offered them and "if we are to be co-workers with God we should be at hand ready for the execution of the purposes of God."[49]

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[47] Teilhard de Chardin, The Divine Milieu, p. 35.

[48] Timothy Richard, "The Future of the Church in China," Chinese Recorder, Vol. XLIII, No. 11 (November, 1912), p. 645.

[49] Id. to Baynes, Peking, 25 May 1901, in Richard MSS, B.M.S.

Richard was always captivated with the idea of the grandeur of God and His redemptive work. That idea colored his approach to his materialistic Chinese students and led him directly to their heart, their mind, and to their conscience. As a result, before they had had many meetings the students would realize that the

> chief excellence of the Confucian ideal man lies in teaching, not in self-sacrifice and action. . . . In the Christian religion the highest ideal known in Jesus Christ, Who though the highest of all beings, came down from heaven to be a man and willed to die a violent death, in order to save men. All Christians vow to copy His example and to nourish the same love in their hearts, therefore intellectual attainments, wealth, and often life itself, are laid on the altar for the service of God and man.[50]

The Christian Literature Society in Shanghai achieved phenomenal success and influence during the twenty-five years that Richard was its Secretary. He used literature as the means for bringing salvation to China. In 1900, at the Ecumenical Congress in New York to which he was a delegate from China, he voiced his ideal

> Christian Literature is all that literature which best enables us to do the Will of the Father in all the relations of life. It is

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[50] Id., "Spiritual Benefits of Christianity," loc. cit., p. 245.

> co-extensive with the works of God and commensurate with the needs of man.[51]

To that ideal Timothy Richard gave unsparingly of himself, his time, his energy. Here was an articulate medium to inspire a Chinese Renaissance, a Christian regeneration of China. He used it perseveringly to make "all the best Government authorities--Chinese and foreign--realize more than ever that enlightenment must precede progress everywhere, and in China the missionaries are the only class of foreigners which devotes any time for this end."[52]

Richard was a man of optimism, of faith, and of prayer, He urged his co-workers,

> Let us pray for a far greater faith in the possibility of bringing all nations to submission to Our Savior in one generation, and let us pray God to show us how to make every link in the Mission chain strong enough to bear the strain without any link breaking to the detriment of all.[53]

To the Mission Societies he kept insisting on the tremendous need for liberal subsidies to finance mission literature projects and for each Society to set apart at least one of its best literary men to work with the Christian Literature Society. He said:

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[51] Id., "Christian Literature," Chinese Recorder, Vol. XXI, No. 12 (December, 1900), pp. 597-603.

[52] Id., China Problems from a Missionary Point of View, pamphlet (London, 1905), p. 4.

[53] Reeve, Timothy Richard, p. 143.

> If the secular press can successfully carry on a gigantic propaganda, changing the attitude of the whole world, is it not equally possible for the missionary societies by adopting the same magnificent engine to change the religious thought of all the non-Christian nations?[54]

To achieve the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth Richard averred that co-operation on the part of all religions was most essential. And why should they not co-operate? Do not all religions have some true idea concerning the true God, concerning God as the revealer of all truth, and concerning union against evil? Each of the three major Oriental religions have one fundamental belief which Christians can understand and revere. To Buddhists, it is their desire to be free from suffering and to attain supreme illumination; to Hindus, it is their quest for union with the Infinite; and to Mohammedans, it is their surrender to God. Richard saw this clearly.

> The best Confucianists also believe in the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man; the best Taoists believe in the superiority of

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[54] Richard's address at the Edinburgh Conference, Scotland, 1910, quoted in MacGillivray, Timothy Richard of China, p. 14.

> spiritual over material advantages; the best Buddhists believe in the supremacy of His laws and the teachers of these doctrines; the Arabs also have a share in the teaching concerning the transcendental character of God; the Hindus also teach concerning the immanence of God; and there is a still small voice which says in every nation he that feareth God and acteth righteously is accepted by God.[55]

The inherent truth in various creeds had been recognized and deferred to through his missionary career. He admitted to one of his daughters that when he first came to China he feared that he "might dwindle down into a narrow crank." To forestall that, he sent for the best books on Roman Catholicism, High and Low Church Anglicanism, and other Christian religions

> Then I saw clearly that God had blessed each of these Christian Branches, just as He has blessed members of every denomination and that it is wicked to assume that any one of these has a monoply of the Spirit of God. Inasmuch as each Section has good men and women inspired of God I would be setting myself against God if I did not recognize these facts.[56]

Richard was confident that, if the Churches adapted themselves to national and long-standing customs and engaged in frequent and friendly intercourse with each other, people would be spurred to seek the highest and the best in order to be worthy of the Kingdom of Heaven. This was not an invitation to indifferentism but rather an urgent plea for mutual respect among all those who adhere with fidelity and conviction to the religious truth as it is given them to know it.

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[55] Timothy Richard, "A World's Religion for a World's Peace," manuscript dated London, 28 May 1917, in Richard MSS., National Library, Aberystwyth.

[56] Id. to his daughter Margaret, Shanghai, 30 May 1908, in Dixon Papers.

> After about a thousand years of experience each religion has had to go through a fiery trial to burn the dross and retain the gold. Now in these, our days, has the world for the first time in history had all the religions of the world called up to the bar of judgment afresh. That religion which can pity the sufferings of mankind most today and which does most for the salvation of the world in all departments--spiritual, educational, political, and material--is the religion which has the most of the mind of Christ and of God in it, and all the powers of nature and the consciences of mankind will in the long run declare in its favor.[57]

All who knew Timothy Richard considered him a man who lived very close to God. His life bore the mark of transparent simplicity and truthfulness. Early in his life he had spelled out his goal as the extension of the Kingdom of God on earth. To the close of his long life, at the age of seventy-three, he still thought in the same vein. In a letter written just before his death, he told his Baptist brethren in London,

> Service in China has always been a joy as . . . I was ever conscious of doing something towards

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[57] Id., "Christian Missions in Asia," The China Mission Hand-Book (Shanghai, 1896), p. 82.

> the establishment of the greatest Kingdom on earth, the Kingdom of Righteousness, Peace and Love.
>
> Though my time of service cannot now be long it will still be my pleasure to do all I can to extend that Kingdom in China.[58]

This was the religious orientation of a man who could say with conviction, "What the world needs is the love of God for all the world."[59] Once that love permeated and leavened the world great results would follow.

> The world all over is groaning under sufferings. The Christian religion alone attempts the salvation of the whole world. Asia, especially China, has millions dying of sheer starvation every year. Christians alone attempt to save these at present. Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism have no practical schemes of deliverance. Hinduism seems to a large degree helpless. Mohammedanism seems content with the condition of the people under its rule. Christianity on the other hand is concerned for all nations and peoples in Asia. It has missionaries everywhere, who not only point to a higher life in every department, but also to the practical means of attaining that life. It finds Asia poor and naked and oppressed, ignorant and miserable and imperfectly acquainted with God. It wants to make it well-to-do, well-sheltered, well-informed, a happy conscious child of God and a glad heir of immortality. There only wants time to make these ideas clear to them at large, then will whole nations turn from dead idols to the living God.[60]

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[58] *Id.* to the Committee Members of the Baptist Missionary Society in London, dated London, 1 May 1918, in Richard MSS., B.M.S.

[59] Richard's address at a church convention in Toxteth Tabernacle, Liverpool, 13 March 1905, *ibid*.

[60] Timothy Richard, "Christian Missions in Asia," *loc. cit.*, pp. 82-83.

One Christmas Richard gave to his friend, Richard Glover of Bristol, as a hastily-bought present, an outline map of the Eastern and Western hemispheres under which he wrote the caption "The field is the world." Thus he thought in terms of world reformation, world regeneration, world renovation--with very special application to China in all phases of its life.

> The situation, as a whole, calls for a reconsideration of missionary policy to be followed by a rearrangement of missionary effort. In this view, the missionaries in China itself are at one. They have resolved, in their recent Conference in Shanghai, that preparation should be made for a self-governing native Church in China, responding to the national cry, "China for the Chinese" . . . It is of equal importance that this proposed concentration of Christian effort in China should be sustained by a similar combination at home, not necessarily by fusion, but certainly by co-operation. . . .
>
> If ever Christians were called to a supreme effort in the cause of their Master it is now. They have to think in continents. They are dealing not with individuals, but with provinces, with Governments, with educational systems.[61]

This was the universality of his thought. Timothy Richard had a vision of God permeating the world, illuminating all of creation, so that the dimensions of divine reality, of spirit, and of matter were intimately mingled.

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[61] *Id.*, "The Awakening of China and the Duty of the Home Church," *The* [London] *Times*, n.d. (Italics his.)

> Christianity is the greatest source of blessing, producing powerful effects for good in the material, intellectual, political, moral, social and spiritual departments of life. True Christianity is never final; the Holy Spirit is given to guide into all truth and to perfect us in love. As the populations increase and circumstances change, the various remedial methods of the Christian Church increase and change like the resources of a skillful doctor to meet the varying diseases of the world. Where the Holy Spirit is there must be a growth--progress on all lines. Ignorance and sin will be always lessened by the constant increase of light and love. . . .
>
> In the new and universal theocracy, of which Christ is head as the Desire of all nations to deliver them from all ills and to give them plenty, peace, love, and light, there is no department of life to which as true Son of God and Son of Man He can be indifferent. The best followers of Christ have the same mind as was in Him.[62]

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[62] Id., "Present Benefits of Christianity," in his "Historical Evidences of Christianity," series, Chinese Recorder, Vol. XXII, No. 11 (November, 1891), p. 498. (Italics his.)

CHAPTER III

TIMOTHY RICHARD AND BUDDHISM

Timothy Richard always welcomed and accepted truth regardless of where he found it. That open-mindedness made him a conciliatory, friendly, and admiring champion of the elements of beauty, truth and goodness which he found in non-Christian religions. To know better and to appreciate more these religions, Richard studied their sacred books, visited their temples, and sought interviews with their abbots and leaders, published tracts on their doctrines and rites (in those he not only pointed out what was praiseworthy in them but also showed where Christianity had bettered them). He tried to put an end to the religious publications of other missioners who antagonized and alienated the Chinese by the derogatory and scolding tenor of their criticisms of Oriental beliefs and practices.[1]

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[1] Burt, "Timothy Richard," loc. cit., p. 297.

In 1891, after his appointment as Secretary to the Society for the Diffusion of Religious Knowledge (the S.D.K. later known as the Christian Literature Society), Richard sensed the need of knowing how to change the religious faith of a whole nation, not just a single province as formerly. The Great Famine in North China some years before had already made him realize the need for education, "not mere book learning but true enlightenment in regard to all the wonderful works of God."[2] Though he made an intense and sincere study of Taoism, Confucianism, Shintoism, Hinduism, and Mohammedanism, he made a far more detailed and prolonged study of Buddhism. Among his boasts was the fact that he had devoted much time to the study of Buddhism during the forty years that he lived in China[3] and the fact that he had read all the noteworthy books written in the English language on Buddhism.[4]

Richard made numerous visits to Buddhist monasteries including one of several weeks' duration to

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[2] Burt, "Timothy Richard," loc. cit., p. 298.

[3] Timothy Richard, The New Testament of Higher Buddhism (Edinburgh, 1910), p. 1.

[4] Id., Guide to Buddhahood (Shanghai, 1907), p. 1.

T'ien T'ai in Chekiang Province, an important religious center for members of the Lotus School of Buddhism. He visited monasteries not only in China but also in Japan and Korea. He not only discussed doctrines and scriptures with the abbots, but also observed the religious rites and prayer services. In one temple, where he lived for a month, he ate his daily meals with the abbot, who greatly impressed him by his religious fervor.

> In order to understand the Buddhists I went and lived a month in one of their chief temples, where the Abbot had come from a distance to hold an ordination. He was a very good man, over sixty years of age. Before every meal he used to pray with an unction that it would be difficult for any Christian to surpass. . . .
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> The education of the priests, however, was most elementary. Besides reciting their morning and evening prayers, which they did with great regularity, their studies were chiefly directed to points of ritual. After only fifty days' study they received diplomas, stamped by the Abbot.[5]

He not only read everything in English that he could find on Buddhism, but he also translated a number of Buddhist works from Chinese to English including _The Awakening of Faith_, the _Essence of the Lotus Scripture_, _A Mission to Heaven_, and _A Guide to_

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[5] _Id._, _Forty-five Years_, p. 169.

Buddhahood. He collaborated with Donald MacGillivray to produce *A Dictionary of Philosophical Terms*. This contained 2,482 entries, adapted from Japanese terms, and was published in Shanghai by the Christian Literature Society for China in 1913. In 1916, he wrote *An Epistle to All Buddhists throughout the World*. This Epistle, written in English and in Chinese, is based on Saint Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews. A world map showing the simultaneous spread of Christianity and Buddhism in the East and West accompanied the text. The map was not done by Richard, though he did get permission to reprint it to accompany his Epistle. The map was originally designed to accompany *World Healers*, or *The* Lotus Gospel and its Boddhisatvas by E. A. Gardon.[6]

These works manifested the depths of Richard's Buddhist researches. Briefly stated he held

In the Divine Salvific Plan, the Chinese were first led along the paths of righteousness through the teachings of their Sages, who emphasized the virtues of benevolence (Jen 仁), righteousness (I 義), manners

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[6] See map, p. i, Richard, *An Epistle to All Buddhists* (London, 1916). I found a copy in an old bookshop in Russell Square, London.

(Li 禮), knowledge (Chih 智), and faithfulness (Shin 信).[7]

Later, the New Buddhism from India, teaching faith in a merciful God and the salvation of one's fellow men, had prepared many "worthy" men in China as conscious sinners who needed salvation.[8] This New Buddhism owed its origin largely to the influence of Jewish religious thought or of Christianity.

Not everyone agreed with him on the latter point, though he was not alone. In 1923, Alexander Baxter recalled that a

> few writers have expressed the opinion that the Mahayana owes its origin largely to the influence of Jewish religious thought or of Christianity. This theory is held in its most extreme thought by one of the translators of The Awakening, the late Dr. Timothy Richard, an ardent and lifelong student of Chinese Buddhism. In his autobiography Forty-five Years in China, he also refers to other writers on Buddhism who more or less share his opinion on this point.[9]

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[7] Timothy Richard, "Spread of Great Religions Throughout the World," China Mission Hand-Book, p. 63.

[8] Eddy, Pathfinders of the World Missionary Crusade, p. 183.

[9] Alexander Baxter, "The Awakening of Faith" (Part One of a series on Richard's translation), Chinese Recorder, Vol. LIV, No. 10 (October, 1923), p. 585.

One of these with similar views about whom Richard wrote in his autobiography was a Cambridge University man, Arthur Lloyd, professor in a Tokyo College and formerly a China Mission Society missionary. Lloyd's interest in Buddhism had led to a correspondence with Richard. In 1908, Richard visited Lloyd in Tokyo.[10]

> In [his book] Wheat Among Tares Professor Lloyd dwelt on the likeness of thought underlying the doctrine of the Nichiren sect of Buddhism to the speculation of the Alexandrian Gnostics. These doctrines were drawn from The Lotus Scripture, and he proved it to be a book of Scythian origin, the original portion being a work known to some of the Greek Fathers of the second and third centuries, and written by an Indian Buddhist residing in Alexandria during the second century.
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> In The Creed of Half Japan, which was published in 1911 after his death, Professor Lloyd drew attention to the remarkable parallel between Christianity and the Mahayana School of Buddhism, and pleaded for Christian teachers "of sympathy and patience who would be willing . . . to say to the Buddhist, 'I will walk with you, and together we will go to Him to whom you say Sakyamuni himself bore witness'."[11]

Chinese Buddhism was "not Buddhism proper, but imbedded Christianity," and, of the hundred millions of Buddhists in the world, the majority were not Buddhist at all but practicers of a Christianity in Buddhist garb and nomenclature.[12] For Richard, the added significance of this discovery was that it provided a religious basis for the attainment of mutual respect and harmony between the nations of the West and those of the newly-awakened East.

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[10] Richard, Forty-five Years, p. 335.

[11] Ibid., pp. 337-38.

He had initially made this discovery in 1884 when he was looking for Buddhist publications in Nanking. There he met a Confucianist Sui-ts'ai, (乘才) Yang Wen-hui, who was selling Buddhist books. When Richard asked him how he, a Confucianist, could do such a thing, the book seller replied that he had been won over to Buddhism by the fact that Buddhism supplied the answers for many of life's questions, which Confucianism failed to do, and that the book responsible for his conversion was the K'i Shin Lun (Chi Hsin Lun),(大乘起信論) The Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana Doctrine.[13] This book, under its Sanscrit title, The Mahayana-Sraddhotpada-Shastra, was written in the first century A.D. by Ashvagosha of Benares (Ma Ming 馬鳴), the reputed founder of the Mahayana or Greater Vehicle

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[12] Richard, "Christian Missionaries in Asia," loc. cit., pp. 72-73.

[13] Id., Forty-five Years, p. 195.

School of Buddhism. He was a Brahman who was converted to Buddhism in a spectacular manner. The book was made into a Chinese version by the Buddhist missionary, Paramartha (Chen-ti 眞諦) who lived in China during the Liang Dynasty, 502-555 A.D.[14] From the Buddhist book seller, Richard bought a copy of this book and a number of other works on Buddhism.

Seven years later, in Shanghai, he again met this same Yang. Discussing that same book, Richard told Yang that in his study of it he had frequently encountered philosophical terms which no existing dictionary nor the best Chinese scholars could explain. He solicited Yang's help in making a translation of the book, and Yang was only too glad to help make the book known to Western readers. The English translation was finished in 1894, and thus Timothy Richard thereby became the first to translate Ashvagosha's work into a Western language.[16] The work was far from perfect, and

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[14] G. E. Moule, "The Awakening of Faith,"(a discussion of Richard's translation), Chinese Recorder, Vol. XLII, No. 6 (June, 1911), p. 351.

[15] Richard, Forty-five Years, p. 334.

[16] Baxter, "Awakening of Faith" (Part One), *loc. cit.*, p. 591.

Richard refrained from publicizing it until he could get time to revise and perfect it, thus he did not release the translation until 1908. In the meantime, Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki's translation of the same work was published in 1900 in Chicago.[17] Richard claimed that his version was the correct one; Suzuki naturally claimed his own as the right interpretation. Certainly Suzuki had the advantage of superior linguistic qualifications. A noted Chinese Professor of Chinese Culture and Philosophy wrote of the two,

> There are two English translations--a very poor one by Timothy Richard and Yang Wen-hui, The Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana Doctrine; and a good but not easily accessible one by Teitaro Suzuki, Ashvagosha's Discourse on the Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana.[18]

The work was not a long treatise. The Chinese text contained 10,800 characters that covered about forty-six pages. Richard's translation covered seventy-two pages; Suzuki's ran to 103 pages.[19]

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[17] Baxter, "Awakening of Faith" (Part One), loc. cit., p. 591.

[18] Wing-tsit Chan, Religious Trends in Modern China (New York, 1953), p. 99.

[19] Baxter, "Awakening of Faith" (Part One), loc. cit., p. 594.

Why was Richard so anxious to translate this treatise of Ashvagosha? Because he considered it "one of the most important books in the world."[20] It was regarded by thousands of Buddhist monks and nuns in Japan, who belong to the Pure Land School, as their foundation and origin.[21] The book was a great departure from Primitive or Hinayana Buddhism.[22] It was the primary source of such Higher or Mahayana Buddhism doctrines as

1) One soul immanent for good in all the universe.
2) One Divine helper of men.
3) Individual immortality and growth in the likeness of God.
4) The importance of faith in God to produce good works.
5) The willingness of the best spirits to make sacrifices to save others.[23]

Richard regarded The Awakening of Faith as "a Gospel of great hope to the greater part of East Asian Continent."[24] The atheistic doctrines of Hinayana

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[20] Ashvagosha, The Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana Doctrine, trans. Timothy Richard (London, 1911), p. v.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid., pp. v-vi.

[24] Moule, "Awakening of Faith," loc. cit., p. 347.

Buddhism, along with the pessimism and hopelessness engendered by its stress on asceticism, on withdrawal from the world, negation of the self, and transmigration, kept the world groaning under sufferings and spiritual starvation without offering it any means of deliverance. It proffered the archaic idea of a real and eternal Nirvana, while it denied the existence of the saint in Nirvana. On the other hand, Mahayana Buddhism's doctrines of a compassionate God who personally aids men in salvation; an immediate Paradise without numberless rounds of transmigrations; and a charity that inspires souls to sacrifice their own place in Nirvana in order to continue striving on earth to save their fellowmen from suffering now and hereafter, gave its adherents the hope of attaining the State of Enlightenment not only after death but even here on earth, now.[25]

In The Awakening of Faith, Ashvagosha voiced many fundamental tenets of Mahayana Buddhism, especially the idea that salvation is not attained by doctrinal belief, behavior, or ritual but

> by treading the Higher Path in the Way of Spirit and of Truth, and with selfless compassion for all sentient beings. The main theme of his book

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[25] Timothy Richard, An Epistle to All Buddhists, pp. 5-6.

> is that Mind is the sole reality, that it is One and Indivisible; yet the One manifests itself in the many, the Macrocosm cannot be separated from its Microcosms, nor can they have any real existence apart from the others.[26]

The treatise was one of the most studied in the Far East. At the turn of the century, The Awakening of Faith was the Buddhist Bible.[27] Its gospel is salvation by faith. Faith means belief in the Buddha, belief in the Law, belief in the Sangha. A profoundly philosophical work, it is very difficult to understand. Several Chinese intellectuals told Timothy Richard they could not comprehend its import. Yet from the vast number of adherents to its doctrines, Richard ranked The Awakening as fifth among the sacred books of the world, following the Bible, the Koran, the Vedas, and the Confucian Classics.[28]

Shortly after he had been introduced to The Awakening by Yang Wen-hui, "the most intelligent Buddhist

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[26] Ashvagosha, The Awakening of Faith, tr. Timothy Richard, with an introduction by Alan Hall Walton (London, 1911), p. 18.

[27] Chan, Religious Trends in Modern China, p. 100.

[28] Richard, New Testament of Higher Buddhism, p. 38.

I had ever met," Richard's interest in the book increased after reading Beal's Buddhism in China.[29]

> Three months later I was in a bookseller's shop in Edinburgh, and looking through his new books I came across Beal's little book on Buddhism lately published. Turning up a certain chapter in it, I found that he referred to The Awakening of Faith as a psuedo-Christian book which it was desirable to have translated.[30]

That was all the motivation he needed to research a common meeting point for Christianity and Buddhism. He was of the opinion that the doctrines enunciated in The Awakening provided a common framework of brotherhood that could be ultimately expressed in one bond of religious charity--a universal religion.[31]

> The religion of the future which will satisfy all nations and races will not be born of any party cry, but will be born from the habit of looking at the highest and permanent elements in all religions, and gladly recognizing all that helps to save man, body, soul, and spirit, individually or collectively as Divine.[32]

Richard used the Chinese text of The Awakening of Faith that had been translated from the Sanskrit by

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[29] Ashvagosha, Awakening of Faith (1907 ed.), p. x.

[30] Ibid., p. xi.

[31] Ibid., p. xii.

[32] Richard, New Testament of Higher Buddhism, p. 35.

Paramartha; Suzuki used the translation made by Siksananda in 700 A.D. Both men made several unsuccessful attempts to find original Sanskrit copies.[33] They differed considerably in their translation of certain terms. Richard claimed the right to interpret words and ideas, as well as to translate them. He used the words "Incarnate One," "True Likeness," and "The True Model=God," to translate Chen Ju (眞如) and "True Likeness Come" or "True Model Come=God Incarnate, The Messias," for Ju Lai (如來). Suzuki used "Suchness of Existence" for the former, and the Sanskrit "Tathagata" for the latter.[34] Richard justified the use of his terms on the basis of what he found in an old standard Buddhist text *Wan Fa Kwei Sin Lu* (萬法歸心錄), published in the time of K'ang Hsi (康熙).

> Chen Ju (眞如), the True Model. The famous book, *Ki Shin Lun*, *The Awakening of Faith*, which gives the fundamental principles of Higher Buddhism (Ta Ching Kiao 大乘教), speaks of the universe being governed by One Mind or Soul which was manifested in two aspects. One was as the Eternal, Transcendant One (Chen Ju

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[33] Baxter, "Awakening of Faith," *loc. cit.*, p. 591.

[34] *Id.*, "Awakening of Faith" (Part Two), *ibid.*, Vol. LIV, No. 11 (November, 1923), p. 661.

> Men 眞如門), the other as the Temporary, Immanent One (Seng Mie Men 生滅門). The book Wan Fa Kwei Sin Lun (萬法歸心錄) published in the time of Kang Hsi, explains Chen Ju as "tranquil, and deep and formless, like space; the original Form and the true Being from whom all the mountains and rivers, the earth with its grasses and forests of infinite varieties flow forth." This is practically a description of God such as might be given by Christians.
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> Julai Fo (如來佛). Chen Ju is the Eternal Model for man to copy as far as he can. This Eternal Model became immanent in time; in this form he is called Julai, "the Model Come," become immanent, or the Eternal Incarnate. We must remember that these terms are those of another faith, but they seem to me very clearly to express the Christian idea of Immanuel, God with us. He thus becomes more truly the Son of Heaven that is any ruler of the earth.[35]

Suzuki refused to believe that The Awakening of Faith was a "pseudo-Christian book." He believed that both Hinayana and Mahayana Buddhism sprang from the same source, Sakyamuni Buddha himself, and that the book enunciated the doctrines that he had taught.[36] Richard did not believe that the two schools of Buddhism--Hinayana and Mahayana--had the same source. He said that the Hinayana was the school that existed from the time of the Great Buddha until about 500 years later.

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[35] Richard, An Epistle to All Buddhists, p. 7.

[36] Baxter, "The Awakening of Faith" (Part One), loc. cit., p. 586.

> In India these Buddhists [Fa Hsien (法顯) and Hsuan-tsang (玄奘)] could not obtain the Scriptures which first taught Higher Buddhism, for these Scriptures had not their origin in India.
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> In the sixth chapter of the Diamond Sutra (one of the most popular Buddhist Sutras), Shihkyamuni utters a remarkable prophecy. He says:
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> "Five hundred years after my death there will arise another Teacher of Religion, who will produce faith by the fulfillment of this prophecy. You should know that He will plant the root of His teaching, not in one, two, three, four or five Buddhas, but will plant it at the root of all the Buddhas. When that One comes according to any prophecy, then have faith in Him at once, and you will have incalculable blessings."[37]

When Ashvagosha founded the Mahayana School in the first century of the Christian era, this was the form that spread to China, Japan, and Korea. The influence of the Hinayana then waned, and what remained of it prevailed in South and Southeastern Asia. The rise of Mahayana Buddhism was contemporaneous with the rise of Christianity. Richard based his statements on information obtained from a Japanese book on Buddhism, published in 1319 A.D., and called Pa-chung-kang-yao (八宗綱要).[38]

To Suzuki,

> what Ashvagosha wanted to convey was ethical exhortation, based not on the conception of

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[37] Richard, An Epistle to All Buddhists, p. 7.

[38] Id., New Testament of Higher Buddhism, p. 40.

> God in any theistic sense, but upon the philosophical conception of a non-personal Ultimate, concerning which we can neither say it exists, nor that it does not exist.[39]

He regarded Richard's translation as being "unwarrantably Christianized."[40] Timothy Richard countered this with the opinion that, though Suzuki's translation showed much study on the subject, Suzuki approached his translation in a non-Christian frame of mind and without the benefits of Christian teachings, and therefore his mind was not illumined to perceive the nuances of Christian apologetics in Ashvagosha's writings.[41] That opinion was but an application of Richard's belief that Mahayana, or the New Buddhism, and Christianity had a common origin. In his view

> . . . both came from a common source, Babylonia, where some of the Jewish prophets wrote their glorious visions of the Kingdom of God that was to come. Babylon then had much intercourse with Western India and Persia, as well as with Judea, Egypt, and Greece.[42]

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[39] F. W. S. O'Neill, The Quest for God in China (London, 1925), pp. 149-50.

[40] Baxter, "Awakening of Faith" (Part One), *loc. cit*., p. 592.

[41] Richard, New Testament of Higher Buddhism, pp. 46-47.

[42] *Ibid*., p. 49.

Richard was convinced that both New Buddhism and Christianity held "to the transcendent and the immanent forms of God."[43] Both aimed at the same objective, the salvation of the world.[44] Both had similar teachings. In making these observations, Richard felt his opinion was sustained by such eminent Orientalists as Max Müller, Arthur Lloyd, Sir Edwin Arnold, W. Y. Evans-Wentz, E. A. Gardon, and others. He also knew that many others not only differed with him but were disturbed by his conclusions. The reaction he provoked was still going on for years after publication of his version.

> Into certain of the writings of the Mahayana School Dr. Richard reads the tenets of the Christian gospel to so great an extent that he feels justified in the use of Christian terminology when translating these writings into English. Here he parts company with almost all the other Buddhist scholars, Christian and non-Christian alike.
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> All those who are interested in this branch of religious inquiry, especially missionaries to the Far East, anxiously await the presentation of the argument which is to justify the use of Christian theistic terms in the translation of Buddhist literature. That argument has not yet appeared. So far as we are at present acquainted with the position, or are able to follow it, we cannot find upon grounds either of philology, history, or theology sufficient warrant for so momentous a departure. We need more proof to

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[43] Richard, New Testament of Higher Buddhism, p. 50.

[44] Ashvagosha, Awakening of Faith (1907 ed.), p. xiii.

> lift this method of translation from the realm of honest and interesting but inconclusive conjecture.[45]

After Richard's translation was published in 1907 and its title placed in the catalogue of the Christian Literature Society of Shanghai, the Rt. Rev. George Evans Moule (1828-1912), the Episcopalian Bishop of Mid-China, was asked to read a paper on his version of the Buddhist treatise, The Awakening of Faith, before the Hangchow Missionary Association in June, 1908. One gets the impression that this request was made of the Bishop in order to quell the fears and allay the suspicions that Richard's work was heretical. In his own gentle way, Bishop Moule first pointed out the apparent similarities, as well as great differences in doctrine between Christianity and Buddhism, and then gave his reasons why he could not make any doctrinal analogy between The Awakening and Christianity.[46] Richard reacted to the Bishop's paper by spelling out his own principles of translation and stating unequivocally that he felt that Christianity far surpassed Buddhism. In his estimation, it was the duty and privilege of Christians to lead Buddhists to the Fountain of Truth, where they could find a true solution for life's problems.[47]

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[45] Editorial, Chinese Recorder, Vol. XLII, No. 6 (June, 1911), pp. 312-14.

[46] Moule, "The Awakening of Faith," loc. cit., pp. 347-51.

> It is quite true that in order to estimate properly the true value of any religion we must understand its points of weakness as well as its strength. The weaknesses of Buddhism are apparent enough. I fully agree with Bishop Moule
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> a. That early Buddhism is atheistic;
> b. That the "San Pao" to whom the Bishop refers are not the same as our Christian Trinity at all;
> c. That the doctrines of Creation and Sin are not to be found described by Buddhists as Christians described them;
> d. That the Resurrection which is so integral a part of our Christian Faith is not dwelt on.
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> On the other hand I am grateful to the Bishop for pointing out
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> 1. That there existed in Nepal a Theistic sect of Buddhists. This fact in itself serves to show that in certain minds the doctrines of Higher Buddhism might be identified with belief in a personal Deity; to this extent therefore Bishop Moule justifies me in using the name of God for Fo; at least it shows that to certain Buddhists themselves the doctrines of Higher Buddhism might be used as a means of teaching a theistic faith.

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[47] Timothy Richard, "Some Remarks on the Foregoing Paper," Chinese Recorder, Vol. XLII, No. 6 (June, 1911), pp. 353-54. (The "foregoing paper" was Bishop Moule's on Richard's translation of The Awakening of Faith.)

> 2. That in a commentary six centuries later it was explained that "Tathagata was manifested as a human being because of his infinite love and compassion." Here at any rate is a Buddhist statement which teaches incarnation, showing that the idea of a human manifestation of the Infinite was conceived of within Buddhism; to this extent again the author justifies me in the use of the term Incarnate one or Messiah.
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> At the same time I am grateful to the Bishop for his specimen translation and for pointing out that while there are likenesses between the two religions there are also great differences. The Buddhist doctrine is vague, impersonal and dateless; the Christian is definite, personal and historical. Christianity has what the other lacks, and without which the other must always be at a loss in dealing with the practical problems and needs of human life. While we sympathize with the Buddhists in their endeavor to discover the fundamental truths of religion, it is the great privilege of our Christian position to lead them to clearer views of these tremendous problems.[48]

In translating Ashvagosha's work, Richard was "the advocate, if not the discoverer, of a new mode of regarding Mahayanism, and of a new interpretation which in principle is more faithful to the form of Buddhism found in China than the older method of dependence on Sanskrit or Pali Records."[49] He did not know Sanskrit, nor could he even find the Sanskrit original of The Awakening. But he did have an educated Chinese Buddhist help him with the translation.

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[48] Richard, "Some Remarks," Chinese Recorder, op. cit., pp. 353-54.

[49] Soothill, Timothy Richard in China, p. 318.

> Looked on as a mere translation, Richard's version of the Awakening of Faith is open to criticism. Looked on as expressing the Mahayanist's mind, it has a value of its own. I cannot endorse his interpretation in detail but there are many Chinese and Japanese Buddhists who would agree with his point of view.[50]

Another Buddhist work with which Timothy Richard made a lengthy comparison with Christianity was The Lotus Sutra (蓮華經), "the most popular of all Buddhist Scriptures in Japan."[51] In the ninth century Dengyo Daishi had found this Lotus Scripture at the great religious center, T'ien Tai San, near Hangchow in the province of Chekiang, where he had been sent by the Japanese emperor, Kammu, in a search for religious truth. At T'ien T'ai, the Lotus Scripture was the chief sacred text. When Dengyo Daishi brought it to Japan, it became the chief sacred book of the Nichiren Sect.[52]

The original scripture was rather lengthy. Richard compared its length to the combined length of the Four Gospels plus the Acts of the Apostles. Various translations had been made of it from Sanskrit into Chinese by Indian Buddhist scholars during the third to the seventh centuries A.D., as well as a later French and an English translation by Europeans. But in all these Timothy Richard felt that the main thought of the Sutra was lost under a mass of Indian semantics. His wish for an extract that would feed the underlying message of the Sutra to its readers was granted when a Japanese translation was made by K. S. Fukagawa and published in ten volumes by the Nichiren sect in 1904. Along with the Japanese text there were, on each page, extracts in Chinese, from the original Chinese translation made between 384 and 417 A.D., by Kumaragiva, giving the essence of the Scripture. That essence was what Richard translated-the first time it was done in any European language.[53]

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[50] Soothill, Timothy Richard in China, p. 317.

[51] Richard, New Testament of Higher Buddhism, p. 127.

[52] Id., Forty-five Years, p. 337.

The Lotus Sutra is a compendium of Shakyamuni's last discourse and revelations to his disciples, before his entry into Nirvana. The Sutra contains a monistic doctrine that rejects the idea that Buddhahood is reserved for saints alone; it professes that the Buddha

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[53] Richard, New Testament of Higher Buddhism, p. 129.

Nature and Enlightenment are latent in every man, even to the most humble of the faithful. "No matter how wicked a man may be, he is potentially a Buddha." Through the compassionate help of bodhisattvas all men may achieve salvation.[54]

This doctrine of universal salvation appealed to Richard and motivated another detailed analogy between the doctrines of Buddhism as expressed in the Lotus Sutra and Christianity. Shakyamuni's ultimate discourse to his assembled disciples, revealed the Eternal Buddha's appearing all through the ages, whenever men are in danger of being engulfed by evil, to teach them that through faith in him they can obtain salvation. Richard compared this with Our Lord's last discourse to his Apostles before the Ascension, wherein He promised to send His Holy Spirit to guide them in the way of Truth.[55] The allegorical reference to Kwan Yin (觀音), the Divine Being of Infinite Love and Compassion, he likened to the story of the Prodigal

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[54] Dengyo Daishi Zenshu, Vol. I, p. 436, quoted in Ryusaku Tsunoda, William Theodore de Bary and Donald Keene, comps., Sources of Japanese Tradition (New York, 1958), p. 118.

[55] Richard, New Testament of Higher Buddhism, p. 129.

Son in the Christian New Testament. To Richard the most striking feature of the essence of the Lotus Sutra was its animating message of "Life, and Light, and Love." He referred to this classic as the counterpart of St. John's Gospel, calling it the Lotus Gospel or the Fifth Gospel.[56] He said this Gospel proclaimed the uniqueness of the incarnation of the "Great Mighty One," the efficacy of his grace, and his power to save men through their faith in him and obedience to his doctrine and his law.[57]

Richard's translation of the Lotus Sutra abounds in a great variety of footnote references. He took them from the Old Testament and New Testament, from Scripture and Patristic writings, and from Oriental as well as Occidental sources. There are copious references to the Epistles of St. Paul, the Synoptic Gospels, St. John's Gospel, the Epistles of St. Peter and of St. James; Old Testament references are mostly from the Psalms, the Book of Job, Book of Daniel, and the Book of Isaias. Early Church Fathers whose writings are quoted include St. Ignatius of Antioch, St. Clement of Rome and St. Irenaeus. Other sources are taken from the Nihongi, Lao-tzu, and various Buddhist scriptures.

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[56] Richard, New Testament of Higher Buddhism, p. 134.

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 135.

This Lotus Sutra, apocalyptic in character, served as a further proof to Richard that the Buddhist emphasis on the elimination of vices and the practice of virtues showed a similarity of ideals with Christianity and provided a common platform on which to build world unity and harmony through a world religion. Such a religion would be a synthesis of all that was the noblest, truest, and best in each of the world's greatest religions.

> With these wonderful ideas and truths common to the great religions of the East and West, we have what should be the foundation of one world-wide religion, in which the devout of all nations, Chinese, Indian, Arabian and the West, can unite to worship the one God, to save men, and to discover and use the great forces God has provided in Nature for the peace and progress of the whole human race, living harmoniously as loving members of one great family, with the blue tent of heaven spread over all, and lighted by the ever glorious, never extinguished lamps of sun, moon and stars. Rom. VIII. 14.[58]

This then would be the extension of the Kingdom of Heaven on earth because,

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[58] Richard, Epistle to All Buddhists, p. 11.

> Christ the Incarnate God replaced the atheism of early Buddhism by faith in God. He is therefore not only the Great Atonement to bring men to God, but is also the Great AT-ONE-MENT, to reconcile the East and the West and bring them into tune.[59]

In his 1924 biography of Richard, William Soothill noted,

> To say that "the wonderful truths taught" in the Lotus Scripture "have precisely the same ring as those taught in the Fourth Gospel, about the LIFE, the LIGHT, and the LOVE, is to put a higher value on the book than careful examination may justify. . . . His translation of the headings of the Lotus Scripture may not stand the test of closer study, still less will the Scripture references, but he did what none else has done, revealed from Chinese sources the conception of an ultimate Eternal Buddha who is Life, Light and Love, somewhat grotesque though this Buddha may seem to severer Western conceptions.[60]

In 1913, Timothy Richard translated what he considered one of the world's literary masterpieces, Si Yu Ki (西遊記), a Chinese epic and allegory written by Ch'iu Ch'ang Ch'un, a Taoist monk.[60a] As he had done in previous works, Richard hoped that his work on this book, which had never been translated into a Western language, would make evident Christian concepts in Buddhist philosophy and doctrines. He considered Ch'iu's work an epic because it was a record of pilgrims travelling for fourteen years "without purse or scrip in countries where, and in times when, hospitality was more universal than now. . . ."[61]

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[59] Richard, New Testament of Higher Buddhism, p. 11.

[60] Soothill, Timothy Richard, pp. 317-18.

[60a] True author of this work was Wu Cheng-an (吴承恩).

> It is not an epic like the Indian Mahabarata by Vyasa, nor the Iliad by Homer, nor like those of Dante and Milton, yet it deals with the two great forces of good and evil, worked out in heaven, on earth, and in hades, with the final triumph of good.[62]

Si Yu Ki was originally written as a satire on a book by the Chinese pilgrim, Hsuan Tsang, who went to India in 629 A.D., and remained there for fifteen years. The main character in the epic has the same name, and the two stories are sometimes confused. The destination of the epic's Hsuan Tsang was Heaven, to which place he was sent by the Chinese emperor to seek and fetch the scriptures of Truth.[63] His trip details the magic transformation of a monkey into a monk, and, in a clever and amusing way, insinuates many religious, political, and moral aphorisms.

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[61] Timothy Richard, "One of the World's Literary Masterpieces," Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XLIV (1913), p. 3.

[62] Ibid., p. 1.

[63] Ibid., p. 2.

The other characters--the Pig, Dolphin, White Dragon Horse, Demons, and the Beautiful Monkey King--all play an important role in the story. They prove that previously base and sinful lives are no barrier to sanctity. Indeed, once they effect a sincere conversion and then dedicate themselves to procuring the salvation of their fellowmen, they not only escape well-deserved punishments but also attain heavenly bliss.[64]

The chief teachings contained in the book are expounded in a triad of ideas: 1. the importance of character and how it can be transformed till it reaches the heights of sanctity; 2. in the search for the solution to the problem of life creatures are twisted and torn by the forces of good and evil but that good always triumphs in the end; and 3. a true religion is one that engenders optimism, nobility, and sanctity. It does not assert itself to the exclusion of others but recognizes other religions as also being depositories of divine truths. Richard himself summarized the teaching under three headings:

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[64] Richard, "One of the World's Literary Masterpieces," loc. cit., pp. 7-8.

A. *The highest Creed of Asia*, viz.
Man's refuge or belief
    In God, Namo Fo, (南無佛)
    In the Laws of God, Namo Fa, (南無法)
    In the Teachers of those Laws,
      Namo Seng, (南無生).
B. *The highest ideal of man to be Godlike*, copying the True Model, as did the Incarnate One.
C. *The highest judgment of heaven*, is to reward all men equally for doing the best they know of.[65]

As in his earlier translations, Timothy Richard drew many parallels between Higher Buddhism (the Mahayana Sect) and Christianity. In this work, it is Nestorian Christianity in particular to which he refers. Again, his parallelism is daring, imaginative, sometimes unjustified, and the visible expression of his aspirations and searchings for a World Religion in a peaceful and harmonious world.[66]

Chapter XIX of the Classic is the story of Hsuan Tsang receiving the sacred creed on the Buddha Mountain, Fu Tu, from a religious man. Labeling this Buddhist Creed "The Creed of Half Asia," Richard sent it with the following message to a newspaper editor in Peking, who published it.

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[65] Richard, *New Testament of Higher Buddhism*, p. xxiii.

[66] *Id*., "One of the World's Literary Masterpieces", *loc. cit*., pp. 4-5.

Sir: The following translation may be of considerable interest to your readers as it possibly expresses the creed of half Asia. It is in 270 Chinese characters:

Hail the great WAY of SALVATION! Hail the CREED OF THE ENLIGHTENED!
They have practiced the deep wisdom of Salvation and have long discovered the comparative Vanity of all earthly things and the way of deliverance from all sorrows and dangers by the Divine Seed thought of union with the Eternal; that the present world is not different from the Eternal, and that the Eternal is not really different from the World! The Visible is the Eternal, the Eternal is the Visible, revealing and concealing repeatedly. The Divine Seed is hidden in unchangeable laws in the Divine Nature and in all forms of existence. It is that which never was born nor will ever die, is neither clean nor unclean, is neither added to nor subtracted from. It is invisible, unknowable, formless, and without learning. It is without eyes, ears, nose, tongue, feeling or thought, without sound, fragrance, or quality to the touch. It is boundless even beyond the limit of thought. It is without anything hidden; it is open to all! It never dies of old age yet is ever young. Truly it is in a state free from all sorrow, enjoying perfect rest.

Religion is not acquired wisdom. It originally exists instinctively; therefore, the Enlightened Ones follow the Divine Way and are delivered from every anxiety. They have no fears and are far beyond the reach of any unsettlings, dreamt of or thought of. All the redeemed of the immortal world followed the highest Wisdom and thereby have attained the unsurpassed and perfect Way.

Therefore, learn this Divine Creed of the Way of Salvation. It is the unsurpassed and unequalled Creed. It can deliver you from all trouble. This is verily true without any doubt. Let those who wish to benefit by this Creed recite the following:

Praise, Praise, Praise God,
Praise His instinctive Wisdom
Praise the Enlightened![67]

Richard did the translation of this book as a form of relaxation in 1913, just two years before his retirement from China.[68] His translation was used in the production of a children's book version of the Tale, titled simply Monkey.[69] His whole idea in doing the work was to prove to the Mahayana Buddhists that, in as much as they had the partial knowledge necessary for salvation, they should be willing to accept Christianity in order to have the knowledge of complete Truth. By winning their assent, he felt that Christianity would be practiced by two hundred million more adherents, which would be of inestimable value in the missionary goal of spiritually uplifting the human race and extending the Kingdom of Heaven.[70]

Another Chinese work which absorbed his time and attention was the Hsuan Fo P'u (選佛譜),

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[67] Richard, "The Creed of Half of Asia," clipping from The China Times, dated 3 May 1908, in Dixon Papers.

[68] Margaret Richard Dixon, Reminiscences of Timothy Richard (manuscript dated 1965, written for the author of this dissertation).

[69] Miscellaneous MSS., Dixon Papers.

[70] Richard, "One of the World's Literary Masterpieces," loc. cit., p. 4.

which was originally published in 1593 A.D. The work was a detailed and comprehensive explanation of the steps involved in moving from the lowest to the highest forms of Buddha life in the various schools of Buddhism, and from the departure from evil to the growth in Discipline, Contemplation, and Wisdom until the highest attainment was reached--Buddhahood.[71] Timothy Richard first translated this book in 1895, and, as he did with a previous work, he put it aside until such time as he could revise and perfect it. Such a time never materialized and Richard finally published the work in 1907, in Shanghai, under the title Guide to Buddhahood. He hoped that it would stimulate interest in Buddhism and prove a help to those already studying it. He considered it a companion volume to the Awakening of Faith and felt that both volumes portrayed the strength and weakness of Buddhism.[72]

> The Strength of Ordinary Buddhism lies in its systematic arrangement of a complete view of the universe, its aim to remove the suffering of all living beings by Ethics and by Union with the Supreme Divine Will which rules all.
>
> The Weakness lies in its indictment of the sexual element in the universe and its vain efforts to stamp it out; its countless imaginary

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[71] Richard, Guide to Buddhahood, p. v.

[72] Ibid.

> worlds and its imaginary beings inhabiting each, its neglecting in China, where most of the Buddhists of the world are, to take part in the practical improvement of the material, social, educational and political conditions of men regarding all such things as compared with the eternal, nothing but vanity![73]

In London, in April, 1916, three years before his death, Timothy Richard published An Epistle to All Buddhists throughout the World, which was based on St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews. No other works by Richard or about him allude to this Epistle. Though its resemblance to St. Paul's Epistle is very slight and vague, this Epistle to All Buddhists is undeniably Richard's own work. It was written in both English and Chinese. It repeated thoughts already expressed in his translations of The Awakening of Faith, The Lotus Sutra, and A Mission to Heaven. Richard is so intent on proving that God has always sent sages and law givers to all nations to inculcate virtues and to guide the people in the way of Truth and that Buddhism and Christianity have so much in common that those two ideas made up the body of this epistle.[74]

To prove his point about the lawgivers, he listed the Emperors Yao and Shun (c. 2000 B.C.), and 1500 years later, Confucius, all in China; Hammurabi in Babylonia (c. 2000 B.C.); Emperor Aknaton in Egypt (c. 1360 B.C.); Gautama Buddha in India (500 B.C.); the Bhagavad Gita in India (100-200 A.D.); and Mohammed (600 A.D.), God's revelation of Himself was portrayed to the Jews through Abraham, David, and Isaiah in the Old Testament, and to the world through Christ the Messiah and the twelve Apostles in the New Testament.[75]

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[73] Richard, Guide to Buddhahood, p. v, notes on flyleaf of Richard's personal copy.

[74] Id., Epistle to All Buddhists, pp. 1-11.

In this work Timothy Richard again strongly asserted that the doctrine of Christianity and Mahayana Buddhism did not merely influence each other but that they came from a common source, Babylonia.[76] In fact, the Epistle goes even further and suggests that Mahayana Buddhism was an offshoot of Christianity, or was at least modified by Christianity.[77]

He stressed the fact that two of Christ's apostles, Thomas and John, worked in Asia, and their teaching not only moderated Buddhism but spread over all Asia.[78] He noted that John's influence became greater when John "became Bishop of Ephesus."[79] John's Gospel had a wide circulation in Egypt, from whence it was carried by Egyptian merchants to Ceylon. According to tradition, the T'ien-t'ai School of Buddhism, which magnifies the Lotus Scriptures, came from Ceylon. Because this Sutra treats of Life and Light and Love as does the Johannine Gospel, this proved to Richard that they had a common derivative.[80]

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[75] Richard, Epistle to All Buddhists, pp. 2-3.

[76] Ibid., p. 6; also id., New Testament of Higher Buddhism, p. 49.

[77] Id., An Epistle to All Buddhists, p. 4.

Thomas the Apostle went to India where he became the friend of King Kanishka. This famous king lived in a tent, so Thomas, being an architect, built a palace for him. At the court, Thomas met the learned Hindu, Ashvagosha, and instructed him in Christian doctrines, especially those pertaining to the Incarnation, death, and the redemptive mission of the Savior, and to the immortality of the soul. "After his conversion to this new Faith," Ashvagosha wrote his Ki Shin Lun or Awakening of Faith, which all Buddhists regard as "the fountain-head or beginning of Higher Buddhism."[81] Thus, besides Indian teaching, Higher Buddhism embodies traditions handed down from the Apostles of Jesus Christ.[82]

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[78] Richard, An Epistle to All Buddhists, p. 4.

[79] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

[80] *Ibid.*

In this Epistle, Timothy Richard credited Kumarajiva with being the chief translator of Sanskrit Buddhist works into Chinese and himself as the translator of the same works from Chinese into English. Special translations of Kumarajiva were The Lotus Scripture and the Diamond Sutra. From the latter work, Richard translated the sixth chapter, which contains a messianic prophecy supposedly uttered by Shakyamuni to the effect that five hundred years after his death there would arise a great Teacher of Religion in whom he urged his followers to believe at once in order to receive numberless blessings from and through Him.[83] To Richard, this was positive proof prophesying the coming of Christ. He urged all who believed in and recited the Diamond Sutra to study Christ's teachings, for Christ was the great Teacher, foretold by Buddha, Who lavishes

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[81] Richard, An Epistle to All Buddhists, p. 5.

[82] Ibid., p. 6.

[83] Ibid., p. 2.

His love and blessings upon mankind.[84]

Richard also stated that when the famous pilgrims, Fa Hsien and Hsuan-tsang, journeyed to India in search of fuller Buddhist teachings, "these Buddhists could not obtain the Scriptures which first taught Higher Buddhism, for these Scriptures had not their origin in India."[85] That is a clear contradiction to what he had just previously written in the same Epistle (when he stated that the Awakening of Faith came from North India).[86] Hsuan-tsang's search for Scriptures in India was not without value, for, after studying in that country for fifteen years, he returned to China with seventy-five basic Buddhist texts that he translated into Chinese.[87]

Some of the assertions made by Richard in this Epistle are not tenable. He himself said in this same Epistle that both Max Müller in his Sacred Books of the

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[84] Richard, An Epistle to All Buddhists, p. 8.

[85] Ibid., p. 7.

[86] Wm. Theodore de Bary, Wing-tsit Chan, Burton Watson, comps., Sources of Chinese Tradition (New York, 1960), p. 309. "It was from the first or second century A.D., onward that Mahayana Buddhism arose in India."

[87] Ibid., p. 344.

East, and another translator Gemmell, give different interpretations of this chapter in the Diamond Sutra.[88] His holding that the T'ien T'ai school came from South India and Ceylon is erroneous for "the T'ien T'ai did not exist in India."[89] That Ashvagosha was a convert is questionable. Thomas the Apostle and Kanishka could hardly have been contemporaries because the "greatest Kushan king was called Kanishka, circa A.D. 120-160."[90] Nagarjuna was the formulator and determiner of Mahayana philosophy, rather than Ashvagosha. Richard himself frequently asserted that the "Madhyamika School of Mahayana philosophy was founded by Nagarjuna."[91] Mahayana took final shape in the second century A.D., and reached its culmination under the impetus of Nagarjuna, the thirteenth patriarch.[92] The basic ideas of the New Buddhism or Mahayana should be associated with the name of Nagarjuna, a philosopher of the Satavahana period.[93]

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[88] Richard, An Epistle to All Buddhists, p. 7.

[89] de Bary et al., comps., Sources of Chinese Tradition, p. 332.

[90] Taya Zinkin, India, p. 32.

[91] William Theodore de Bary, Stephen Hay, Royal Weiler, and Andrew Yarrow, comps., Sources of Indian Tradition (New York, 1958), p. 158.

[92] Maurice Percheron, Buddha and Buddhism (London, 1957), p. 112.

As noted earlier in this chapter, Richard's biographer, William E. Soothill, admitted that his translation of the Awakening of Faith was open to criticism and that he had put a higher value on The Lotus Sutra than was justified. Suzuki's version of the message contained in The Awakening of Faith was quite different from Richard's and more acceptable because Suzuki had the advantage of proficiency in the language and in the shades of meaning for an Oriental mind. Nor did Bishop Moule entirely agree with Richard's use of Christian terms to interpret Buddhist doctrines. David Hill, a friend of Richard, told him that he was reading his own thought into The Awakening.

But Richard was under no illusions about the scholarship and accuracy of his translations. In fact, he held up the publication of one of his works for thirteen years and another one for ten years so that he revise and perfect them before offering them to the public. Leisure time for doing such tasks was never available for him, however, so he published the translations as they were. Why did he do it?

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[93] Ramesh Chandra Majundar, Raychauduri Hamchandra, and Datta Kalinlinkar, An Advanced History of India (London, 1961), p. 140.

1) He was so zealous for the conversion of China, not just one province of it but the whole empire, with its population in the hundreds of millions representing one fourth of the whole human race. He was convinced that the Messianic teachings of early Christianity had permeated and merged with the salvific ideas of the Newer Buddhism to such an extent that the Buddhism prevalent in China was but a Chinese manifestation of the Christian message of hope and redemption.[94]

2) He discerned Divine Truth where others saw merely an idolatrous religion, and thus he justified his use of Christian theistic terms when translating Mahayana scriptures into English.[95]

3) His great desire was for World Peace, achieved through a World Federation built on a World Religion. He felt that modern progress had promoted

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[94] Richard, "The Spread of Great Religions Throughout the World," loc. cit., p. 62.

[95] Editorial, Chinese Recorder, Vol. XLII, No. 6 (June, 1911), p. 312.

intercourse among all the nations of the world, but the apparent clash of interests and lack of understanding had led, not to peace and brotherhood, but to competition and jealousy, which resulted in warfare that threatened the civilization of the world. Because there was much talk at that time about the possible formation of a League of Nations, Richard said that such a League should have a moral and religious basis and that a League of Religions might form such a base. Now the time was ripe to propose to all religious leaders that they should co-operate in everything for the uplift of their fellowmen and thus hasten the Kingdom of God in all lands.[96]

Richard was well aware that most of his fellow Baptists and many other missionaries did not share his belief about Buddhism and that they refused to have anything but an iconoclastic attitude towards a religion that they considered corrupt, degenerate, and antithetical to Christianity. But, though he was a sympathetic and appreciative devotee of Buddhism, he never said, nor even suggested, that Buddhism could do for China what Christianity could do. In fact, he publicly stated that Buddhism, even in its finest form, lacked a genuine social concern. It had done little to improve the status of women, to insist on public health, or to mitigate other obvious social evils. It had done nothing to alleviate suffering in China nor to remove its causes. Only Christianity concerned itself with those problems.[97] Richard made several references in his writings to the obvious deterioration of Buddhism.

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[96] Timothy Richard, "The Beginning of a Permanent Peace," manuscript dated London, 13 September 1917, in Richard MSS., National Library, Aberystwyth.

> Buddhism at the present day is very ignorant. I have visited their examination halls, where they grant diplomas for the priesthood. They can learn all that they need to know in fifty-three days! Ignorance, idolatry, prayers, mass, and vegetarianism are the chief characteristics of Buddhism in China today.[98]

What Richard wanted to do with his translations was to prove to the Buddhists that their liturgy was unquestionably Christian in form, to the Christians that many of their doctrines paralleled Buddhist doctrines, and to both that religiously they held much in common. His admiration for Buddha and Buddha's search for enlightenment might have initiated his own quest for true enlightenment "and the lure of the quest may have made him see more light to Buddhism than really exists."[99] Richard was correct in seeing a parallelism between Buddhism and Christianity. Scholars now agree on that. One has written,

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[97] Albert J. Garnier, A Maker of Modern China (London, 1945), p. 105.

[98] Richard, Wanted: Good Samaritans for China, p. 13.

> With regard to the question of the influence of Christianity on Old India and Buddhism, I think that this is not probable. Chronology forbids the hypothesis of an Influence of Early Buddhism (Hinayana). But the dogmatic relations between some aspects of Mahayana and Christianity are certainly worthy of remark, and show the "pre-established harmony" between Revelation and human needs. They can and, to my opinion, must be explained by independent evolutions.[100]

And another,

> It is by no means impossible that there was some Christian influence on Mahayana Buddhism, for Christian missionaries were active in Persia very early, and it became a center from which Nestorian Christianity was diffused throughout Asia. From the middle of the third century, A.D., Persian influence in Afghanistan and Northwestern India, which had always been felt, was intensified with the rise of the Sansanian Empire; and it was in these regions that Mahayana Buddhism developed and flourished. Thus Christian influence cannot be ruled out. But it is equally possible that the similarities between the concepts of the suffering savior in Buddhism and Christianity are due to the fact that compassionate minds

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[99] Burt, "Timothy Richard," loc. cit., pp. 298-99.

[100] Louis de la Valles Poussin, Buddhism (England, 1960), p. 30.

everywhere tend to think alike.[101]

Undoubtedly, David Hill gave a true evaluation of the situation when he told his friend that he was just reading his own ideas into Buddhist writings. In admiring Buddhism, Richard gave way to his natural propensity to accept truth wherever he found it, for he believed that all truth is from God. But he also believed that no truth that is not apprehended as from God and received as a gift from God is complete. Therefore, Buddhism was not enough for China. Yet that did not destroy his appreciation of the religion.

> I hold it to be one of the noblest efforts, on one of the grandest scales the world has ever seen, of men trying to solve some of the greatest problems of human existence. I hold also that in its search after a better life it has given comfort to untold millions of our race by that light of nature which the Apostle Paul says is from God . . . Notwithstanding its weak points it [Buddhism] has its strong one too. Its aim to save all mankind and even all living beings; its doctrines of repentance, faith, love and self-sacrifice; its teaching of the utter vanity of the best in this world, as compared with the future, and an unfailing recompense of our deeds, whether good or ill; its teaching of the supreme importance of union with One Mind of the universe, though often vague and almost forgotten, are still truths dear also to every Christian heart. If we can see them more clearly than the Buddhists, we should pity them, because they have not had the same

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[101] de Bary, et al., comps., Sources of Indian Tradition, p. 163.

> privileges as ourselves.
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> Although Buddhism has not succeeded in its great purpose, yet owing to its experiments the world is much richer today than it was. . . . the successive harvests of thought in the Buddhist field, where for twenty centuries millions of holy men and devout women have toiled to the best of their ability and died, have left behind them a far richer soil for their successors to sow in.
>
> But for the additional check of Buddhism on human passions, who can tell what these might have led to in spite of Confucianism and Taoism. . . .
>
> It has been the privilege of Buddhism to keep alive faith in an intimate relationship between eternal principles and the various departments of matter and of being, to believe that there is a *bridge* leading directly from the spiritual to the moral, and a *bridge* leading from the moral to the physical, until at last a free highway from nature to man, from man to God, shall be made clearly a higher religion. This forms *a junction where the interests of science, philosophy and religion all meet*.
>
> Future generations can never lose sight of the *sacred aim* of the great founders of Buddhism to do their utmost to save their fellowmen from suffering now and hereafter. They will also profit by Buddhist experience and employ such means as shall meet *universal* needs in harmony with *all* laws, suitable for *all* times. Then they will not only more certainly gain that holy object of saving their fellowmen from suffering, but will also be able to gain that harmony with nature, that communion with a holy God and that everlasting life, which alone can give supreme rest to human souls.[102]

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[102] Timothy Richard, "The Influence of Buddhism in China," *Chinese Recorder*, Vol. XXI, No. 2 (February, 1890), pp. 63-64. Italics his.

CHAPTER IV

TIMOTHY RICHARD'S MEETINGS WITH LEADERS

Shortly before Timothy Richard sailed from England for the Orient in 1869, the two secretaries at the Baptist Missionary headquarters in London, Drs. Trestrail and Underhill, offered him advice that influenced his missionary outlook and missionary efforts. One told him not to send back any viewpoints on China until he was thoroughly familiar with things Chinese. The other urged him to work in the interior, to seek out the teachers, and try to convert them, for they would be the means of his orientating the whole nation towards God. Furthermore, he should give serious and prayerful attention and study to the tenth chapter of Saint Matthew's Gospel, which details Christ's instructions to His twelve apostles before they set out on their first missionary journey.[1]

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[1] Richard, Fifteen Years Missionary Work in China, p. 4. Published in pamphlet form later, this work originally was an address delivered by Richard in Exeter Hall, London, at the annual meeting of the Baptist Missionary Society, 30 April 1885.

This last advice was confirmed for Richard when he read a sermon preached forty-five years before by Edward Irving to the members of the London Missionary Society.[2] Richard was much impressed by Irving's message, and his personal copy of it was heavily marked with underlinings and marginal notes as a reminder to help him live in the spirit of those divine injunctions.[3] In the edition of it which he had printed in China in 1887, Richard wrote,

> I know of no book dealing with the fundamental principles of Christian Missions so applicable to all times and circumstances that will for a moment compare with this of Edward Irving's. With a few modifications it stands out alone among Missionary Addresses like the sun among the stars, having a marvellous, unique and most blessed effect on most of those who read it devoutly.[4]

Richard sent reprints of this sermon to each of the leading missionaries in Africa, China, and India. In all, two hundred copies were sent to Japan, five hundred to India, and eight hundred were distributed in China--all this at his own expense.[5]

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[2] Irving, "Missionaries after the Apostolical School," in ed., Collected Works of Edward Irving. Richard's personal copy of this volume was given to the Christian Literature Society Library in Shanghai.

[3] E. W. Price-Evans, Timothy Richard: A Narrative of Christian Enterprise and Statesmanship (London, 1945), p. 27.

[4] Quoted in MacGillivray, Timothy Richard of China, pp. 3-4.

After his arrival in China in 1870, Richard had settled in Chefoo, a port city in Shantung. He studied Chinese for a short period, then plunged into such customary missionary activities as itinerant work, Bible distribution, catechism and hymn singing classes, street and chapel preaching, but the few converts and negligible overall results made him reassess his efforts and readjust his methods. He came to the realization that the Bible messages were mainly to the Jews and that "it is only the Bible principles which should be applied to all the world in messages suitable to each country."[6] He had also early discovered in Chefoo that the local people had taken an oath never to enter a foreign chapel. Hence, his only listeners were country folk, who entered his place only out of curiosity.[7]

In 1875, Richard decided to get away from

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[5] Richard to Baynes, Peking, 16 July 1888, in Richard MSS., B.M.S.

[6] Reeve, Timothy Richard, D.D., p. 34.

[7] Garnier, A Maker of Modern China, p. 53.

European people and influences in the Port cities and to penetrate the interior. He moved to Chingchowfu in Shantung, about four hundred miles inland, where "there were many secret sects, whose members were dissatisfied with their native religions and were eagerly seeking something better."[8] Here he made an intensive study of Chinese religions, classics, and the language in order to better equip himself to meet the leaders and to participate in dialogue with them with an Oriental, rather than with an Occidental, mentality and outlook. He also studied Church History of the Middle Ages, Catholic methods for the Propagation of the Faith, the "Instruction of the Jesuits,"[9] and Matteo Ricci's two-volume work, Ten Dialogues of Religion, for he sincerely believed that he had much to learn from Catholic sources, without having to teach their doctrine. Richard was deeply impressed by the conversions to Christianity of whole tribes that usually followed the conversion of their king or chieftain. He resolved to work ceaselessly to win over China's leaders to Christianity, so that the same situation would result in China, where history showed that the people always followed the ruler.[10] He knew the significance of the Chinese proverb, "When the wind blows the grass bends." (風行草偃)

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[8] Richard, Forty-five Years, p. 76.

[9] Id. to Baynes, Taiyuanfu, 17 December 1877, in Richard MSS., B.M.S.

With this in mind Richard approached the religious leaders, equipped with faith in the truth of his message and with a catechism that he had worked out in Chinese. "I prepared a catechism in Chinese, avoiding foreign names as much as possible, as the Chinese hated foreign things, and adopting Our Lord's method of appeals to their conscience rather than appealing to an authority the Chinese did not recognize."[11] These leaders represented various devout communities--Confucian, Buddhist, Taoist, and Nestorian Christians--with whom he had private talks. These were all undertaken at his own initiative and most frequently at the cost of personal sacrifice of time, physical and intellectual effort, and energy as he travelled by foot over mountains to distant villages or monasteries, in all kinds of weather. On most occasions, he was received with graciousness and hospitality and an openness that made it possible for him to deliver his Christian message.[12] He felt that these were hallowed occasions, and he always returned to his quarters with his faith in the soundness of the Divine principles in the tenth chapter of Matthew's Gospel amply vindicated.[13]

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[10] Richard, Forty-five Years, p. 158.

[11] Ibid., p. 86.

Chingchowfu was likewise a Mohammedan center with a theological college and two mosques within its confines, and many other mosques in the outlying districts. Richard visited them and formed very cordial relations with the chief mullahs.[14] The result of his ventures in the Moslem world led him to undertake a re-evaluation of Islamism and to adopt a different line with the Mohammedans since conventional lines of Christian apologetics were useless against them.[15]

Within a few years Richard had about two thousand Chinese interested in Christianity. These were put in the care of his assistant and of a native pastor, Pastor Ching, when he left to carry out relief projects in the province of Shansi during the time of the terrible famine (1877-78).[16] In 1878, Richard opened the first Baptist mission in Shansi, at Taiyuanfu, the capital of the province, and there resumed his missionary work among officials and religious leaders.[17] Now he began to apply again Christ's injunction to the Apostles, "And into whatever city or town you enter, find out who in it is worthy; and stay there until you leave."[18] And who were the worthy? Not necessarily the wealthy nor the elite. However, for China it was important to secure the good will of the rulers and scholars, because they were traditionally imitated by their people. He said that

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[12] Richard, Forty-five Years, p. 92.

[13] Ibid., p. 93.

[14] Ibid., p. 87.

[15] Ibid., p. 88.

> the "worthy" are those of all classes whose character has won the respect of their fellows, and who have shown themselves to be aware of

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[16] Richard, Forty-five Years, p. 125.

[17] Henry R. Williamson, British Baptists in China, 1845-1952 (London, 1957), pp. 40-41.

[18] Matt. 10:11.

> and responsive to spiritual issues. Faithful to such light as they have had they are likely to be faithful to the further and fuller light which is brought to them, until finally they will rejoice in 'the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ'.[19]

Many of the political leaders he met might not have been devout, but, because of their standing and influence on the community, he felt it worth the effort to gain their adherence to the Gospel, or at least their good will. The religious leaders he considered very worthy for most of them were devoted to whatever religion they professed and he considered them to be good ground in which to sow the seeds of Christianity. Years later, Richard gave this advice in a paper he read at a Conference of Missionaries held in Shanghai on 22 February,1901.

> Cultivate the friendship of the authorities, for they too are the ministers of God, and, if possible, make your services indispensable to them. There are also other ministers of God, viz., the devout leaders. Convey God's message first to them, for Our Lord had ordained that they should be first to receive the glad tidings and be privileged to be the first heralds of this new gospel to their fellows in their respective countries. By gaining them you gain all the force of their high moral character and, through gaining them, you practically gain all their

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[19] Price-Evans, Timothy Richard, pp. 27-28.

> followers. Let the privilege of being God's messengers of peace to their followers be theirs. Let them do all they can and reserve all your strength to do what they cannot possibly do at first, viz., guide and inspire the movement.[20]

In those days Taiyuanfu was also the center for the triennial Civil Service examinations for the chu-jen (舉人) or second degree. In 1879, when seven thousand candidates, the intellectual elite of Shansi Province, assembled for the examinations, Richard distributed to them, gratis, Christian tracts that he had specially printed for the occasion.

> After completing our task in Famine Relief in 1879, we considered how best we could give the Chinese the Bread of Life. It was decided to distribute specially prepared tracts, carefully avoiding those of a destructive nature which had created riots in other provinces.
>
> To do this we had to prepare Christian literature which would appeal to the Confucianists who ruled the country, to the Buddhists who filled the Empire with the best temples, to the Taoists who had been half awakened from superstitions, charms, and spells by the spiritual teaching of Lu Tung Pin, to the Mohammedans, and to all the secret sects which had some two hundred thousand followers in Shansi alone.[21]

Many of the religious concepts set forth in these tracts were ideas and terminology Richard had learned from intensive reading of Roman Catholic literature.

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[20] Timothy Richard, "How a Few Men May Make a Million Converts," Chinese Recorder, Vol. XXXII, No. 6 (June, 1901), p. 276.

[21] *Id.*, *Forty-five Years*, p. 149.

> I sent to Shanghai to get a complete set of the Roman Catholic Chinese books, so that we might have a set in Shansi as well as in Shantung, and I also procured from Peking a complete set of the Greek Church books in Chinese. The early Jesuits in China, more than two centuries before, had written Christian books which had brought them converts from among the highest circles in the land, and also a large number of followers from among the masses.
>
> On examining them I found that if the parts that were Popish and Roman were omitted the Christian teaching was most excellent and could be used with great advantage. I had previously ordered the Breviary, translated into English by the Marquis of Bute, the "Lives of the Saints," and some of the standard works in Roman Catholicism, so as to be in possession of the two opposite points of view of the controversy between Romanism and Protestantism.[22]

He felt justified in getting his material from such a source because there were very few theological texts printed by Protestants at that time. This was an opportune occasion to start the Christian orientation of the youths who were to be the future rulers and leaders of the nation.

In the preparation and distribution of these religious tracts, Richard was helped by his friend David Hill of the Presbyterian mission. "Our friendship was the closest, happiest, and sweetest," he would later recall," and lasted till his death."[23] Along with the tracts, Richard and Hill also distributed notices of prizes to be offered for the best essays sent in on specified religious and moral topics. Money offered by Hill and later by Sir Robert Hart for this purpose encouraged Chinese students to study books on religion and civilization. The response was good--over one hundred essays were sent in by Chinese to Richard.[24]

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[22] Richard, Forty-five Years, pp. 144-45.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 149.

Though religion per se could never be divorced from his missionary endeavors, the leaders he now particularly sought out were the government leaders, minor officials, mandarins, and the literati, for on the attitudes of these men rested the ultimate fate of the Empire. When he spoke of "conversion," he thought in terms of the whole man--a complete metamorphosis socially, materially, morally, politically, intellectually, and spiritually--a transmutation of the creature of earth into a worthy subject of the Kingdom of God. He liked to say that,

> the kingdom of God is made up of many departments, and a good preparation for one is by no means a full preparation for the other. The ripe missionary knows that his work is not complete unless he strives to have all departments progress together

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[24] Richard, Forty-five Years, p. 150.

> like the different parts of one great machine. . . . When therefore he has given the outline of the material, social, intellectual, and religious advantages to the various classes interested and has presevered in calling their attention to these advantages periodically and systematically till they thoroughly understand them, then the conversion of China will be accomplished as suddenly as the explosion of a mine when one has carefully laid the brain and fired it. Then shall come to pass that a nation will be born in a day. All the false theories of life, though firm as a rock, will be exploded into dust and then the true principles of life, like fruitful seed, will take root and bring forth an abundant harvest.[25]

To realize that ambition he must, of necessity, start with the leaders. He must start at the top and work down. He was further spurred to action along this line by the challenge of Li Hung-hang's taunt that there were no educated Christians in China and that any Chinese who were in the mission's employ were there because of material benefits received from it rather than for any love of Christianity.

> In September 1880 I passed through Tientsin. Having heard I was in the city, Li Hung-chang sent word to the British Consul, Mr. Forrest, to say that he wished to see Jonathan Lees, of the London Mission, who had been distributing famine relief in Chihli, and myself. . . . The Viceroy thanked us both for what we had done to avert the sufferings of his people . . . The Viceroy made a remark that caused me considerable thought afterwards. It made me consider more than ever

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[25] Richard, "One Great Missionary Secret," Chinese Recorder, Vol. XXXII, No. 3 (March, 1901), pp. 124-25.

> the importance of influencing the leaders, and I returned to Shansi resolved to lecture to the officials and scholars.[26]

Some years later it was this same Li Hung-chang, who wondered what, if anything, Christianity could do for China and Richard answered his challenge in both Chinese and English.

> One of the highest officials in China asked, "But what is the good of Christianity?" Having prepared a detailed reply in Chinese in six chapters, showing the Material, Intellectual, Political, Social, Moral, and Spiritual benefits of Christianity, it has been thought that the many facts gathered together under these heads, if printed in English, might be useful to others in answering similar questions.[27]

From 1880-84, Richard gave monthly lectures to mandarins, professors, students, and to the educated and influential men in the city. The lectures were on history, Christian education, and science, particularly in the field of electricity, engineering, chemistry, astronomy, mechanics, and medicine. Along with the lectures, he performed experiments and used scientific apparatus, such as the telescope, microscope, sextant, magic lantern, sewing machine, aneroids, spectroscope,

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[26] Richard, Forty-five Years, p. 151.

[27] Id., "The Material Benefits," in his series "The Historical Evidences of Christianity," Chinese Recorder, Vol. XXI, No. 4 (April, 1890), p. 145.

Geissler tubes, voltmeter, galvanometer, induction coils, galvanic batteries, and so on. He used botanical slides, scientific slides, natural history slides.[28] All the equipment and books he used, he bought with his own money.[29] He and his family lived very frugally in order to have money for these educational ventures.[30] They did not resent it nor complain. There was no dichotomy of interests here, but rather a mutual encouragement and inspiration towards the realization of his far-seeing goals.

Sometimes the work seemed to go very slowly, though, as he reported to his superiors in London.

> The slowness of the ingathering of souls to Christ is very trying to one's patience. Conversion of single individuals here and there is scriptural. Is not the conversion of people in masses also scriptural? As foreigners in this land we must deliver our message to the rulers of the land. They are appointed by God in His Providence over the people. But being first officials, and only secondly religious, if at all, we cannot be much surprized at little success amongst them, further than the removal of prejudice and prevention of persecution.[31]

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[28] Richard, Forty-five Years, p. 160.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 159.

[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 158-59.

[31] *Id.* to Baynes, Shansi, 2 February 1884, in Richard MSS., B.M.S.

Richard's approach to the leaders of China was not just a blind and aimless one, propelled into motion solely under Divine compulsion. Though he took the initiative in most instances in requesting the meetings, he did so only after he had seriously and prayerfully calculated all the implications and ramifications of the interview. There were at least three objectives to be dervied from these encounters:

1) to ameliorate the sufferings of the Chinese people and to improve the physical conditions in which they lived;

2) To dispel the ignorance and prejudice of the leaders which were expressed in all forms of harassment and persecution of native Christian as well as of foreign missionaries;

3) to avert calamities for China and to promote her material interests as a Nation.[32]

The third result he hoped to achieve through such schemes as the building of railways, the opening of mines, the introduction of new industries--especially the manufacture of cotton goods--the organization of a postal system, the development of a currency, newspapers, and communications, and a vast, intensive remedial program undertaken by the government to prevent a recurrence of famines, floods, and droughts.[33] Richard thought that these proposals should be immediately, consistently, and competently taken care of because "the happiness of millions is closely bound up with these matters. Then how can we sit down in silence if we have any love for our brethren?"[34] He himself led the way by writing memorials to officials, by seeking them out for interviews, by being available at all times when they sought him out, by writing endless articles for publication in various media.

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[32] Richard, Forty-five Years, pp. 223-24, 239.

Because the Chinese people were destitute of a knowledge of modern science, world history and geography, medicine, philosophy, and religion other than their own, Richard also urged a new and modern education system for Chinese students, both at home and abroad. "The loss, which China will suffer in the next quarter of a century by not now educating its people about the whole world, is simply incalculable."[35] He insisted that China be helped by the teaching of spiritual truths and the relation of progress to the worship of the true God. He had the sincere conviction that, once the Chinese high officials knew something of religion and religious toleration throughout the world, they would be persuaded that it would be to their interests to recognize Christianity more fully and as a friendly and beneficial power.[36] He felt that to win their good will you had to cultivate their friendship first, and then, "on finding that we are in possession of the key to their progress, there would be no difficulty in influencing the highest circles."[37]

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[33] Richard, Forty-five Years, p. 256.

[34] Id., Wanted: Good Samaritans for China, p. 10.

[35] Ibid., p. 12.

Specifically, who were some of the Chinese leaders with whom Timothy Richard had contact? First and foremost, there was Li Hung-chang, whom Richard had met in his early days in Chefoo, and with whom he had important relations over a long span of time. Li Hung-chang had been one of China's ablest generals during the Taiping Rebellion and was now an influential statesman. Richard later said of him that he was "certainly the greatest man I ever met among the Chinese officials. Physically he was taller than most, intellectually he towered above them all, and could see over their heads to the far beyond."[38]

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[36] Richard to Baynes, Peking, 31 May 1884 in Richard MSS., B.M.S.

[37] Id., Wanted: Good Samaritans for China, p. 7.

These two great men had met under rather auspicious circumstances. Richard at the time was living in Chefoo to which place Li Hung-chang came to sign the "Chefoo Convention." Richard was, among other things, director of a little mission hospital in that city and as such dispensed medicine and drugs to the soldiers in Li Hung-chang's army. When Li arrived in Chefoo, Richard sent him a supply of quinine and chlorodyne for his staff and escort, for ague and dysentery were prevalent among the military. Li Hung-chang was much impressed by the care and courtesy shown by Richard to his army and by the thoughtful concern he had shown for Li himself and his officers. He wrote Richard a note to tell him so.[39]

Their paths crossed again later in Tientsin, when Li personally thanked Richard for all that he had done to relieve the Chinese during the Shansi famine. A few years later, when Richard had moved with his family to Tientsin to await the Baptist Missionary Society's decision about the nature and locale of his future missionary labors, he passed the time in composing a treatise on "Modern Education" as carried out by the seven leading nations in the world. This treatise he distributed in pamphlet form to the leading statesmen in Peking and to Li Hung-chang in Tientsin.[40] In this work, he voiced the hope that China would set aside a million taels annually for educational purposes in order to reap the benefit of this foresighted outlay.

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[38] Richard, Forty-five Years, p. 298.

[39] Ibid., p. 76.

> To this proposal Li Hung-chang replied that the Chinese Government could not afford so great a sum. I answered that it was seed-money, which would be returned a hundredfold. He asked then that would be. "It will take twenty years," I replied, "Before you can realize the benefits of modern education."
>
> "Ah," he rejoined, "we cannot wait as long as that."[41]

When a fierce anti-foreign persecution broke out in the Yangtze Valley in the summer of 1890, Timothy Richard begged Li Hung-chang to take action to put an end to the trouble but Li refused to do so since any such interference would have been regarded as an unpatriotic act by the highest officials in Peking.[42]

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[40] Richard, Forty-five Years, p. 206.

[41] *Ibid*., pp. 206-207.

In July, 1890, Timothy Richard became the editor of the Shih Pao (天津時報), the Tientsin daily newspaper, at the invitation of Li Hung-chang. He accepted the offer, deeming it a providential opportunity to start "the systematic and daily publication of the leading ideas of Christendom among the Chinese."[43] He reiterated the need for reforms for China. Often, illustrations, charts, and diagrams accompanied his writings. These were compelling forces that inspired intelligent Chinese to advocate reforms on a nation-wide basis. The paper had a wide circulation, not only in Tientsin, but also in Peking where it was read even in the Palace and in the foreign office.[44]

In a letter to his daughter Mary, Richard gave a simple but warm-hearted estimate and appreciation of this Chinese statesman.

> Would you like me to tell you something about the great Viceroy, Li Hung-chang, the most important personage in all Asia? He now lives in a temple about ten minutes' walk from here [surrounded] by his son and his family, about

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[42] Richard, Forty-five Years, pp. 214-15.

[43] Price-Evans, Timothy Richard, p. 108.

[44] Richard, Forty-five Years, p. 215.

> thirty or forty secretaries, and servants of all kinds. He has one American gentleman, Mr. Pethick, who acts as his private secretary. . . .
>
> He is now 73 years of age but remarkably strong and hale for that age. He is over 6 ft. high which is a rare height in China. When he receives visitors he, like all mandarins, smokes the whole time--not cigars as foreigners do but a water pipe as the smoke has to go through the water to cool it at each whiff.
>
> He is the highest civilian in the whole Empire and has been so for more than twenty years. All important affairs during that period had to pass through his hands; so I say, and everybody else says, that considering his position, his length of service, and great statesmanship he is the greatest personage in all Asia.[45]

An aftermath of the Boxer uprising was the establishment, in 1901, at Taiyuanfu, of an institution of higher learning for the dissemination of Western-style education, Shansi University (山西大學堂). The originator of this daring innovation was Timothy Richard who initiated the proposal in response to the specific request of the Chinese Plenipotentiaries, Prince Ch'ing and Li Hung-chang, who sought his advice and help in the settlement of the Shansi troubles.[46] Richard saw this Western-type University not only as a means of making reparation for the senseless massacres of many Christian missionaries, but also as a sane, practical, educative, and Christian means of terminating Chinese exclusiveness and the ignorance and prejudice that had triggered the wanton destruction of life and property in North China.

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[45] Richard to Mary Celia Richard, Peking, 23 January 1896, in Napier MSS.

[46] *Id.* to Baynes, Shanghai, 13 November 1901, in Richard MSS., B.M.S.

> I went to Peking and told the authorities that the missionary societies would not sell the lives of the missionaries for any indemnity, but that on the other hand a great crime had been committed which ought not to go unpunished. I suggested that as the massacre had taken place owing to ignorance of the people of Shansi, the best remedy I could think of would be a fine laid upon the province, of half a million taels and that this money should be devoted to the foundation of a modern university to which nobody should be admitted but those who had already gained their Chinese degrees and who would be taught the history of the world in general. They agreed to it. And they asked me to take charge of it. I was to appoint professors, arrange the curriculum, and organize the work on my own lines.
>
> I took the London University as a model and went to work. Twelve European professors were appointed and twelve Chinese, and about 400 students were entered. I promised to take charge for ten years, believing that this would be long enough to innoculate them with Western ideas about education, and they would never go back to it again. Many students, after finishing their course at the University, came to England to complete their education.[47]

It was certainly a tribute to Timothy Richard's greatness and to the deep respect and esteem in which he was held by the highest of Chinese statesmen that, in an hour of great peril, when China lay broken from a self-sponsored debacle that resulted in international complications, these men turned to him for counsel and help. Their trust in his foresight and his Christian character was amply rewarded. Shansi University, under Timothy Richard's chancellorship, became a model for later universities in other provinces throughout the Empire.

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[47] Richard, "The Awakening of China," interview in The Christian Commonwealth, 8 November 1916.

> In the Western department the course is planned for six years--three years of preparatory work and three years of special study in any one of the following subjects: (a) Law, (b) Science, (c) Medicine, (d) Language, (e) Engineering.
>
> [To enter] all students must have the Hsiu-tsai (秀才) Chinese B.A. degree and pass an entrance examination. They must be under thirty years of age and contract to pursue a course for at least three years. Each receives a monthly allowance from the government of from Tls.2 to Tls.8 per mensem. At the close of the three years' course certificates will be granted only to such as have qualified for entering the special course in any one of the five courses stated above. At the close of the sixth year examinations will be held to determine the fitness for a government degree in either one of these: Law, Science, Language, Medicine, Engineering.
>
> All teaching is carried on in the Chinese language. Students who obtain degrees will be eligible for public offices and be on the same footing as those who graduate from Peking.[48]

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[48] Richard, "Shansi Imperial University," Chinese Recorder, Vol. XXIV, No. 9 (September, 1903), pp. 460-61.

The progress, harmony, and headway made in the Province of Shansi itself due to the influence of the University became evident in all facets of national life and served as a model for other provinces of China.

Li Hung-chang was in disgrace with the Chinese Government because China had lost the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95). He often told Richard that he wished that the latter could live in Peking so that he might deliver lectures to the Hanlins on the imperative need of China to make reforms so as to avoid further calamities. He also urged Richard to seek an interview with Weng T'ung-ho (翁同龢), the Prime Minister, who was said to be practically the "Emperor of China."[49] Li even suggested the exact wording of the request since he said that Weng T'ung-ho was as hard as stone and that "he had no head and only a half-doubting heart."[50] The Viceroy said,

> You should seek an interview with Weng Tung-ho by letter stating that you have been in China and have been engaged in the distribution of famine relief and in the enlightenment of the people, and that you therefore know well the condition of China, and that as you have a very urgent matter of great importance to the State to lay

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[49] Richard, Forty-five Years, p. 244.

[50] Ibid., p. 246.

> before him in person, you will be glad if he will appoint some time when he is at leisure for you to see him.[51]

The purpose of that interview was to get Weng's help in presenting a memorial to the Government protesting the fact that

> There have been riots in Honan, in Hupeh, Shensi, Kansu, in Kweichow, as well as attempts made to stir up riots in Shansi by proclamations in my possession issued by the Chinese magistrates. In May this year we had the riots in Szechuan, in which twenty stations were wrecked and over a hundred foreigners were kept in daily suspense about their own personal safety for weeks. Instead of using the soldiers close at hand to check the riots the mandarins issued proclamations to urge them on. . . . From this outline it is evident that the riots have been universal throughout every province in the empire. Another thing that should be carefully noted is this, that all the riots up to the great Fukien one had been instigated directly or indirectly by the Chinese authorities themselves.[52]

Besides preparing his materials very carefully, Richard also met with various Hanlins to lay before them some of his plans. He prayed very hard over the matter and requested the help of the prayers of his wife and family for the project. "I feel the importance of this meeting today very much [with eight Hanlins] so I did not sleep without many a waking," he wrote to his wife who was then living in France with their daughters, who were students there.[53] And several weeks later, in reference to a similar meeting he wrote,

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[51] Richard, Forty-five Years, p. 245.

[52] *Id.*, "Riots," China Mission Hand-Book, p. 92.

> I want to be in the right mood today especially. If you were here I would ask you as the last word before parting, "Pray for me." Oh that I might be able to say God's words and in Our Lord's spirit so that the Spirit of God may work conviction in the minds of these great mandarins.[54]

And again, "It requires much grace to converse with men who are apparently unsympathetic with one's cause."[55] Some of the meetings Richard had with the officials were private ones in private homes; others were in official meeting halls; still others were in the nature of dinner dates. He often dined with Li Hung-chang in Li's home. In a letter to his wife he mentioned that he had dined one day with ten Hanlins; another time with the men of the Tsungli Yamen; and yet again with "some seven censors." Altogether so much dining that I am tired of dinners. But if these are means of attaining better days for China why I will take up the Cross."[56] It was necessary to have the understanding and empathy of these men if he was to succeed in his mission to Weng T'ung-ho and the Tsungli Yamen.

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[53] Richard to Mary Martin Richard, Peking, 26 September 1895, in Napier MSS.

[54] Id. to id., Peking, 22 October 1895, ibid.

[55] Id. to id., Peking, 5 December 1895, ibid.

When Richard saw Weng T'ung-ho, he gave him ample and concrete proof to back up his assertions that the officials were responsible for the antiforeign riots breaking out all over the country. His finess in handling the situation quickly convinced Weng of the truth of the accusations.

> I pointed out to the Prime Minister that these calumnies were invented to create anti-Christian riots. He asked me who were the miscreants responsible, and I replied that they were Chinese officials. He remarked that that could not possibly be true. In reply, I took up one of the bundles of books, opened it at the place where the false charges were made, and then showed the Preface to the first volume by Tso Tsung-tang, the great Viceroy who had won back Ili from the Russians, and said, "You must own that this man was an eminent official." Then I took up another bundle, folded the page containing the false accusations, and turning to the first volume, showed that it was inscribed with the name Wang Wen-shao, Viceroy of Yunnan and Kweichow. "You will own that this man was also a high Chinese official," and I added:
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> "You must be well aware that these books have lately been republished in a cheap form for wide distribution throughout the Empire. When the common people read these calumnies, published in a popular form, with the names of the highest

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[56] Richard to Mary Martin Richard, Peking, 9 October 1895, in Napier MSS.

> officials in the land, we cannot wonder that they are incited to stir up riots and massacre the Christians."
>
> Seeing I had proved my point up to the hilt, the Prime Minister cried, laughing, "You have lived too long in China," and gave up questioning my statements.[57]

The modesty and simplicity of Richard's single demand that the Government let the Christians alone so astonished Weng T'ung-ho that he spontaneously promised that the request would be granted.

> "What the Christians ask from the Government now is only to be left alone," was my final word. "If that is all," cried the Prime Minister, astonished at the simplicity of the request, "I can easily promise it."
>
> At the close he asked me to prepare a statement of what I considered were the needful reforms for China at that juncture.[58]

Just as he had done with Li Hung-chang so also did he give some personal and intimate details about Weng T'ung-ho in a letter to one of his daughters.

> I shall give you some account of Weng Tung-ho, the actual though not the real Prime Minister of China. He is over sixty years of age and has more than the average beard of a Chinaman and is quite white. He has a reputation of being a man of very good character and learning. It was on that account that he was selected to be the Emperor's tutor many years ago. His learning however is only from a Chinese point of view. He knows next to nothing about foreign affairs.
>
> However, when the Japanese and Chinese War

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[57] Richard, Forty-five Years, p. 247.

[58] Ibid., p. 248.

> broke out and the Viceroy Li and his Army and Navy were all scattered before the Japanese the Emperor was at his wits end whom to trust. In this emergency the Emperor took counsel naturally of his tutor Weng and since then Weng has been the actual Prime Minister.
>
> I had an interview with him without any introduction from anybody. I sent him a copy of two of my books as a present and said that I had some important information to give him if he could spare the time to grant me a private interview. In about a fortnight after sending him that letter he invited me to meet him. I had prepared a speech as carefully as I could and after a few preliminary remarks about my pleasure at meeting a man of such reputed integrity of character I read my notes to him for forty or forty-five minutes. He listened with the greatest attention from beginning to end and when I was through he thanked me for it and said he would very much like to have the Reform scheme put in writing. This was the origin of my Reform Scheme for China. Since then I have seen him five times I think. He is always very reasonable. His only difficulty seems to arise from ignorance of foreign affairs.[59]

Richard remained in Peking all through the winter of 1895-96, drafting his memorial scheme of reforms for the Emperor, conferring with British and other foreign officials, and working with his Chinese friends to get a perfect rendition in Chinese of the scheme. This necessitated his having an interview with the Tsungli Yamen in order to explain his plan and win their support so that they in turn would influence the Emperor to accept it. On the day appointed for the interview, Prince Kung was present.

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[59] Richard to Eleanor Richard, Peking, 24 January 1896, in Napier MSS.

> the most imperious man [he] ever met, every inch a prince, with a demeanor as if he felt himself a god among men. It is said that he was the only man in the Empire of whom the Empress Dowager was afraid. They had stormy times, and she often found it expedient to bend her will to his.[60]

At the interview the Prince showed his contempt by giving Richard a seat next to the door.[61]

> He [Prince Kung] opened the interview by referring to the Christians as if they were the refuse of China, speaking in the same disdainful way as they were referred to in the famous Tsungli Yamen dispatch after the Tientsin massacre in 1870. He took for granted that all the troubles that had overtaken the Christians had been brought on them by their own disloyal and foolish actions.[62]

Richard asked permission of the Prince to give expression to the Christians' views. When the Prince acquiesced, Richard deftly refuted the charges. He explained how, having lived in various parts of the empire and seen firsthand the good work of the Christians, he knew the real facts. The Prince on the other hand, had lived only in Peking, had to trust to hearsay, and had been misinformed.

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[60] Richard, Forty-five Years, p. 248.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Ibid.

> I had come that day, not in my private capacity, nor as an ambassador representing one county, but as representing the Christians of all the Protestant countries of the world, to ask him to appoint a Commission of Inquiry into all the alleged charges against the Christians.[63]

Richard appealed to Prince Kung's sense of justice to urge that the same liberty be granted to Christianity as to other religions in China. When the Prince left the room, Li Hung-tsao one of the Emperor's tutors and a member of the Tsungli Yamen thanked Richard for speaking so frankly to the Prince.

> "None of us would have dared to contradict the Prince as you did, but as you had a request to make, and put it in so respectful a manner before him, he could not possibly be offended. Your visit here will do much good." He also thanked me for my translation of Mackenzie's Nineteenth Century, which I had previously presented to him.[64]

While Richard conversed with the Mighty in Peking, his whole being longed to be in Paris with his wife and children from whom he had been separated for almost two years.[65] He wrote his wife that he was offering his loneliness "for the sake of many sufferers in lonely parts of China" and that he felt sure she also concurred in the sacrifice.

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[63] Richard, Forty-five Years, p. 249.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Id. to Mary Martin Richard, Peking, 14 November 1895, in Napier MSS.

> If thereby millions who are now deterred from knowing or tasting the joys of the Gospel in any of its aspects physical, intellectual, moral or spiritual are enabled to do so then I am sure both you and I, notwithstanding the longings for affection for one another, will gladly trod on a little more in this way. Meanwhile, let us once more raise our voices and sing "Praise God from Whom all blessings flow."[66]

Richard's sacrifice bore fruit, for he not only worked out a four-fold program (including educational, economic, and spiritual reforms for China itself and international reforms to regulate China's relations with foreign powers) but also had the satisfaction of knowing that these reforms were presented by Weng to the Emperor who readily acquiesced to the propositions.[67]

Another letter he wrote to his wife at this time also throws light on what was happening.

> Last Sunday, I met by appointment Kang Yi, one of the Manchu members of the Privy Council. He was very cordial and seemed anxious to do all he could but declared his inability. The Manchus put the blame on the Chinese and the Chinese on the Manchus. Their ignorance and prejudice are most

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[66] Richard to Mary Martin Richard, Peking, 16 January 1896, in Napier MSS.

[67] Id., Forty-five Years, p. 256.

> pitiable and painful.
>
> Last evening I dined again at the French Hotel with three of the leading spirits connected with Reforms. One belonged to the Court, one to the Privy Council, and one to the Tsungli Yamen. They said that the Emperor had sanctioned what was asked for in the Memorial.[68]

Finally, in 1896, he was at long last able to start on the trip to Europe that had been postponed "for a few weeks" almost two years before. From Shanghai he wrote,

> Did I tell you of my parting from Peking? Weng T'ung-ho did me the honor of calling on me the day before I left. He also sent me four rolls of silk, some of which will make a dress for you. He was very cordial and apologized for not being able to do more for me owing to the opposition of his superiors and colleagues.
>
> Sun Chia-nai, the present tutor of the Emperor also sent me two vases and some boxes of tea. These, like those of Weng T'ung-ho, I do not value for their intrinsic worth but because they indicate that I have the friendship of two of the leading men in the immediate presence of the Emperor. I hope that the impression they have gathered will not be without some help to the Mission cause. . . .[69]

Well did Richard know that, as long as the minds of the official classes were closed to progress and reforms by prejudice and ignorance, a missioner trying to preach the Gospel would never have a chance.

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[68] Richard to Mary Martin Richard, Peking, 6 February 1896, in Napier MSS.

[69] _Id_. to _id_., Shanghai, 5 March 1896, _ibid_.

He traveled through North China, paying special visits to the viceroys in Nanking and Wuchang, and to Taiyuanfu, the scene of his early labors. Everywhere he went, he called first on the viceroys and then invited the other officials to come to hear him. The subjects discussed were usually the progress of mankind, the general principles underlying international intercourse, and practical measures to avert future calamities in China. Richard constantly stressed the workings of Divine Providence in the affairs of men.[70] While he elaborated on his program for reform, he emphasized the fact that there could be no true progress nor stability in the country without a concomitant spiritual development. "One is struck, all the time," a biographer has written "with this connection in Richard's mind, between the temporal and the eternal, the visible and the invisible, the material and the spiritual."[71]

In 1891, Richard was invited by the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge among the Chinese (S.D.K.) later to be known as the Christian

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[70] Richard to Baynes, Shanghai, 22 February 1895, in Richard MSS., B.M.S.

[71] Garnier, A Maker of Modern China, p. 67.

Literature Society (C.L.S.), to become its general secretary, and the Baptist Society permitted him to take up this work. He envisioned his task to be the providing of literature that would help in the uplift of China in every department of life. The S.D.K. was not a tract Society, for he realized that Chinese leaders would not read tracts any more than the statesmen in England would read them. He felt that a tract Society could function in China but that no government had ever been able to rule well with only tracts as literature. China needed literature of the highest class that would help her leaders to rule the country and to meet their problems on a Christian basis, and this Richard intended to supply or, as he put it,

> Instead of writing goody-goody religious tracts . . . we decided to enlighten China on all the chief factors in the world's progress, so as to put China in a fair way of saving itself . . . We told them of a kingdom which embodied what is best in all earthly kingdoms, and which had other things besides, which transcends them all, just as the heavens are high above the earth.[72]

By a steady stream of magazines, newspapers, books, and pamphlets, Richard purposely sought "the conversion of the Chinese mind." There were two monthly magazines--a general one to inform the rulers and students of China of what Christian nations were doing for their peoples, the other a more directly religious one to inform the leaders in the native Churches of what the Christian Church was doing all over the world. There were books on

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[72] Richard, "The Awakening of China," interview in The Christian Commonwealth, 8 November 1916. Also published in his Conversion by the Million, II, p. 221.

> the Life of Christ, showing how Christ influences mankind;
> Natural Theology, showing God in nature and Providence;
> Civilization, contrasting the Chinese with the Christian;
> The Benefits of Christianity, historically considered;
> History of the Nineteenth Century, giving the reforms of Christendom;
> The Witnesses, a series of biographies of men who give their reasons for giving up their former religions, and becoming Christians;
> How to Support the Nations, showing that the development of the nation's resources and the laying down of railways, etc., is the best form of famine relief and deliverance from wretched poverty.[73]

Besides instructing the officials on all the facets of Western civilization Richard tackled the problems of illiteracy, opium, mass poverty, and of official corruption. He challenged the Peking leaders to adopt a tolerant attitude towards Christianity and towards foreigners.[74]

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[73] Richard, "The Crisis in China and How to Meet It," Chinese Recorder, Vol. XXIX, No. 2 (February, 1898), p. 82.

"The Missionary who had the greatest direct influence on the Reform Movement," one historian has written,"was undoubtedly Timothy Richard."[75] Richard singled out for translation the work he considered would best convey the essence of Western achievement. This was The Nineteenth Century, A History, by Robert Mackenzie (1823-81), a Scottish journalist from Dundee. This book became perhaps the main source of information about Europe for the leaders of the Reform Movement, including the Emperor Kuang Hsu himself. Richard began to translate it in 1893 and finished it soon after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1894.

> In his introduction Richard asked, "What is the cause of the foreign wars, indemnities, and repeated humiliations suffered by China during the last sixty years?" And he pointed out that God was breaking down the barriers between all nations by railways, steamers and telegraphs, in order that we should all live in peace and happiness as brethren of one family, but the Manchus, by continual obstruction, were determined from the first to prevent this intercourse. If this attitude were changed, "China might still

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[74] Richard, "The Awakening of China and the Duty of the Home Church," Conversion by the Million, II, p. 223.

[75] Victor Purcell, The Boxer Uprising (Cambridge Univeristy, 1963), p. 114.

> become one of the greatest nations on earth."
>
> Upon the publication of his translation, Viceroy Chang Chih-tung immediately sent for Richard to go to Nanking, and Viceroy Li Hung-chang telegraphed for him to go to Tientsin. He accepted Chang's invitation although the outcome was not very encouraging but he was unable to go north until too late, for Li Hung-chang's army was shattered by the first blow of the Japanese and he was degraded.
>
> In Hangchow, no less than six pirated editions of Richard's translation of Mackenzie's history were on sale, and it is estimated that a million copies were in circulation throughout China. On 12 October 1895, when Richard had an interview with Sun Chia-nai the Emperor's tutor and personal advisor, Sun and the Emperor were daily reading Richard's history together, and it seems that the Emperor's knowledge of contemporary Europe was largely derived from this source.[76]

More than any other missionary, Timothy Richard became the friend and advisor of the reformers--a number of Hanlins, who seeing the humiliations and sufferings of China, realized that only reform could change the situation and banded together to work for that end.[77] The leader of the group was Kang Yu-wei (康有為) who was referred to as the "modern sage of China." He was a Cantonese, about forty years of age at this time, who had written a new commentary on the Chinese Classics. He acknowledged to Richard that he believed in the

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[76] Purcell, The Boxer Uprising, pp. 115-16.

[77] Eddy, Pathfinders of the World Missionary Crusade, p. 186.

Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of the Nations. He had a large following among the students and other literati in Peking, Tientsin, and Shanghai, and branches of his Reform Society also appeared in Hangchow, Nanking, and Wuchang.[78]

Kang Yu-wei's devoted disciple was Liang Chi-chao (梁啓超) who was the brilliant editor of the first Reform paper in 1895 and of the Chinese Progress, a newspaper in Shanghai that was the organ of the Reform Society. He became the President of a Reform College in Changsha, the capital of Hunan, in 1897, and a year later was made the director of the Translation Department in Peking. When Liang heard that Timothy Richard was looking for a Chinese secretary, he offered his services and worked for Richard all the time that he was in Peking.[79]

> Richard had great influence on Liang Chi-chao and through him on the Kuang Hsu Emperor. Liang's doctrine of "all roads lead from the Kang-yang of the Three Ages to Science, democracy and peace" was largely derived from Timothy Richard.[80]

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[78] Richard, Forty-five Years, pp. 253-54.

[79] Ibid., p. 260.

[80] Purcell, The Boxer Uprising, p. 114.

After the failure of the Hundred Days Reform Movement of 1898 and his escape from Peking and the wrath of the Empress, K'ang Yu-wei himself told the editor of the China Mail during an interview in Hong Kong,

> I owe my conversion and reform and my knowledge of reform chiefly to the writings of two missionaries--the Rev. Timothy Richard, agent of the English Baptist Society and the Rev. Dr. Allen, a missionary of the Southern Methodist Episcopal Church of America.[81]

Another able Chinese statesman and official who helped the Reform Movement in several positive ways was the Viceroy Chang Chih-tung (1837-1909) (張之洞), with whom Richard was on the friendliest of terms for many years. He was at various times the governor general of several provinces and an essential advisor at Peking for the formulation of domestic and foreign policies. In his official discourses and writing of books and memorials to the government, Chang Chih-tung implemented many reform ideas and suggestions which he had received from Richard into a three-fold aim for the regeneration of China: (1) to save the Manchu Dynasty by a revival of Confucianism; (2) to save China by education; (3) to save China by industry.[82] In his book, Exhortation to Study (Ch'uan-hsueh-p'ien 勸學篇), written in 1898, Chang promulgated a slogan derived from a similar one by an earlier writer, "Chinese culture for the foundation and Western culture for practical use."[83] This was an explicit avowal of his lack of esteem for Western political theory and philosophy.

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[81] George Owen, "The Recent Church Reform Movement in China," address given at the Central Presbyterian Church, New York City, 30 April 1900, and printed in Ecumenical Missionary Conference, Vol. I, pp. 549-52.

Others among the chief reformers were: T'an Ssu-t'ung (1865-1898) (譚嗣同), Liu Kwang-ti (劉光第), K'ang Kwang-jin (康廣仁), K'ang Yu-wei's brother), Yang Tzwei (楊銳), Lin Shio (林旭), and Yang Shih-shen 楊(深秀). These six were unable to escape from Peking and were executed by order of Empress Tzu Hsi, after her coup d'etat in 1898.[84] Other leaders involved were Su Chih-ching (徐致靖), who was imprisoned for life for having nominated K'ang Yu-wei for the position of secretary of the Tsungli Yamen, Huang Tsun-hsien (1845-1905) (黄遵憲), Yen Fu (1853-1921) (嚴復), and Wang K'ang-nien (1860-1911) (汪康年).[85]

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[82] Ssu-yu Tang and John K. Fairbank, China's Response to the West (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), pp. 164-66.

[83] Ibid., p. 151.

[84] Richard, Forty-five Years, p. 267.

The Reform Society started by K'ang Yu-wei began, in August 1895, to publish a newspaper as an organ of reform. They used the same name as that of Timothy Richard's Christian Literature Society's Wan Kwoh Kung Pao (萬國公報), edited by Rev. Young J. Allen, out of fear of reprisal if it was discovered that there was appearing another paper other than the official government Gazette. Later, at Dr. Richard's suggestion, the title was changed to Chung Wei Ki Wen (中外紀聞). Most of the articles in the early issues were taken verbatim from Richard's writings, "Essays on Reform" (新學彙編 in his own magazine.[86] The Emperor Kuang Hsu (光緒) read about eighty-nine of their books and "Tracts for the Times" (時事新論), written by Timothy Richard and Dr. Young Allen. A Chinese prefect said, "Since the Chinese

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[85] Richard, Forty-five Years, pp. 267-68.

[86] Ibid., p. 254.

Reformers had gotten almost all their knowledge from books written or translated by missionaries, it was the missionaries that should be recommended to the Emperor."[87]

In February, 1898, the Reform Society published in Shanghai a New Collection of Tracts for the Times (皇朝經世文新編). This collection contained 580 essays and documents, 160 of which were anonymous. There were 44 written by Liang Chi-ch'ao, 38 by K'ang Yu-wei, and 31 by Timothy Richard. That a foreigner, and a missionary at that, should be given a place in what was virtually an official publication was considered unique in Chinese literature.[88] It was proof that through Timothy Richard principally, the aims of the Christian Literature Society were being realized, viz.,

> To reach the mandarins, the learned men and the leading men in whose hands God has placed the welfare of a fourth of the human race.
> To prepare and circulate among the leaders useful knowledge in regard to the material, social,

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[87] Eleventh Annual Report of the Society for the Diffusion of Christian Knowledge among the Chinese [Christian Literature Society], for the Year ending 31 October 1898.

[88] Richard, Forty-five Years, p. 261.

> intellectual, and above all, moral and spiritual development of all nations, so that these leaders may seek all those things which pertain to the kingdom of heaven and the peace and prosperity of the world.[89]

Timothy Richard had frequent interviews with Sun Chia-nai (孫家鼐), the Emperor's tutor, to whom he spoke and offered advice as if to the Emperor himself.[90] Richard found him extremely gentle and cultured. The opinion must have been reciprocal, for this official offered Richard the position of President of Peking University not once but on three different occasions. Each time Richard refused.[91] During one interview, Sun Chia-nai told the missionary that he and the Emperor had been reading daily for over two months Richard's Chinese translation of Mackenzie's Nineteenth Century History (泰西新史攬要) and that this work was the source of the Emperor's knowledge of contemporary Europe.[92]

On the whole, Richard found the Chinese officials more tractable and more receptive to reform and changes than the Manchu officials at the Court. Richard's dealings with Kang Yi ("friendly yet anti-foreign"), the Grand Councillor; Prince Kung ("proud Lucifer"), President of the Military and Naval Forces; Jung Lu ("as uncivil as it was possible for him to be"), the Military Commander; and Li Lien-ying, a notorious eunuch in the Empress' employ--all confirmed his estimates of them as proud, antiforeign, very reactionary, and confirmed obstructionists to the Reform Movement.[93] These Manchu characteristics partially explain why Richard's reform efforts were negated even though the commonly-held opinion is that "his influence on the Reform Movement was undoubtedly important."[94] Despite his dreams for the regeneration of China and his success in implanting ideas in the young Hanlins for reforms to make China a modern and progressive nation, Richard just could not make the Manchu officials realize the folly of not studying the methods of other nations and of pursuing a reactionary policy in the Government.[95]

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[89] Richard, Forty-five Years, p. 257.

[90] Ibid., p. 256.

[91] Ibid., p. 257; Purcell, Boxer Uprising, p. 116.

[92] Richard, Forty-five Years, p. 257.

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[93] Richard, Forty-five Years, p. 259.

[94] Laurence Thompson, Ta T'ung Shu: The One-World Philosophy of Kang Yu-wei (London, 1958), p. 24 n.

[95] Richard, Forty-five Years, p. 258.

Even the Chinese officials who favored reforms were "hampered by the old national conceit" and were "without world knowledge and experience."[96]

Thus Richard's reform proposals were never fully carried out and those that were initiated were impermanent due to influences over which he had no control. As with everything else that ever happened to himself or his projects, he was able to spiritualize his failure and remain optimistic. In a cheerful vein he wrote to his wife,

> The general outlook for the Manchus is dark as they do not seem to wish to know their danger or how to avert it. However, God reigns and the Chinese people are not forgotten by God whatever the Manchus may do. We must labor for China. Who knows, perhaps God has some new way of saving China ripening fast. We must be fellow-laborers with God as soon as we discover His will.[97]

Nor did Richard have any more success with the man who was to play the leading role in ending the Manchu regime. In 1900, when Richard was on his way to the United States, he met Sun Yat-sen (1867-1925) (孫逸仙), in Yokohama.

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[96] Garnier, Maker of Modern China, p. 64.

[97] Richard to Mary Martin Richard, Tientsin, 1 August 1899, in Napier MSS.

> I also have seen Dr. Sun Yat-sen and gave him the best advice I could. I fear he believes in revolution. I believe in reformation. He works independently of K'ang Yu-wei and Company and thinks with me that they irritate the Chinese Government without doing much good and perhaps only harm by agitation now.[98]

Richard found Sun Yat-sen filled with hate for the Manchus and determined to bring about their downfall by means of revolutionary tactics. Since their ways of wanting to help China were so diametrically and unalterably opposed, Richard decided they would have to part company.[99]

About Yuan Shih-kai (1859-1916) (袁世凱) at this period, Richard said that when he first became acquainted with him Yuan was the youngest and ablest governor in China. "I knew him for many years. He was a very gifted man, a born Mandarin, who knew everything and understood the administration of China from top to bottom. Yes, he was a great man, but unscrupulous."[100]

The Governor of Shansi in 1901, Ts'en Chun-hsuan (岑春暄), did seek Richard's help in settling the missionary problems in that Province after the Boxer Uprising. The result was the establishment of the Christian and Western-orientated Shansi University.[101] "Our aim is to make the Shansi University a lever for the uplifting of the leaders of the whole Province to the level of the Kingdom of Heaven as conceived in modern days."[102] While Richard was in Peking, Li Hung-chang asked him to draw up a draft scheme for the settlement of the missionary problems throughout the Empire.[103]

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[98] Richard to Mary Martin Richard, Yokohama, 22 February 1900, in Napier MSS.

[99] *Id.*, *Forty-five Years*, p. 350.

[100] *Id.*, "The Awakening of China," *loc. cit.*

Richard had a marked influence not only on Chinese officials but on foreign officials as well. The High Commissioner of Customs, Sir Robert Hart; the British Consul in Peking, Sir Harry Parkes; the man who helped the Christian Literature Society with his donations, Sir Thomas Hanbury; the Secretary of the Municipal Council, J.O.P. Bland; the German Commissioner of Customs, Mr. Ohlmer; the Directors of the China Merchant Steamship Company and of Jardine, Matheson and

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[101] Richard to Baynes, Peking, 25 May 1901, in Richard MSS., B.M.S.

[102] _Id_. to _id_., Shanghai, 26 March 1902, _ibid_.

[103] _Id_. to _id_., Shanghai, 25 May 1901, _ibid_.

Company; Bishop Alphonse Favier and other Roman Catholic Missionaries; English and American leaders of other religions; consular officials of all the European Powers and secretaries of the foreign legations--all were won by his perspicacity, his dedication, his charity, and the magnetism of his personality. In Japan, this same attitude towards him was true of Prince Konoye, Count Okuma, the Prime Minister Marquis Saionje, the Abbot, Principal, and Faculty of the Buddhist College in Koyasan, with all of whom Timothy Richard had the most cordial relations and the most fruitful exchange of ideas.

When with the Tao-tai, Shen Tun-ho, Timothy Richard formed an International Red Cross unit in Shanghai, to raise funds for the relief of the Chinese sufferers in Manchuria during the Russo-Japanese War, he received magnificent co-operation from all nationalities--Chinese, American, British, French, German--even from Tzu Hsi, the Empress Dowager herself.[104] One of Richard's biographers later wrote, "Perhaps no missionary has ever been able to enlist the co-operation and goodwill of diplomatic and consular officials as well as of foreign merchants as Timothy Richard did."[105]

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[104] Richard, Forty-five Years, pp. 321-23.

Richard's furloughs in his homeland were spent chiefly in working for the China missions rather than in resting or in the pursuit of personal pleasures. Much of his time was taken up in deputation work throughout the whole United Kingdom for the Baptist Missionary Society or in addressing the leaders of various mission organizations in an effort to secure financial help and to recruit additional personnel for the China Missions in general and for the Christian Literature Society in particular. He visited the heads of various religious organizations in the hope of enlisting their support for his works in the Orient.[106]

He carried on an extensive correspondence with such leaders as the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord George N. Curzon, and the Honorable William E. Gladstone.[107] On his several journeys to the United States he interviewed religious, educational, and political leaders in New York, Boston, Washington, Chicago, and Seattle. In 1900, he even tried to see President Theodore Roosevelt personally in order to warn him of the seriousness of the situation in China and how it imperilled not only China itself but also the peace of the world. Richard had to settle for seeing John Hay, the Secretary of State, who explained to him the impossibility of the Government's officially acting on an individual's opinions.[108] However, a few years later he was successful in seeing Roosevelt when, in April, 1906, he went to the White House to explain his scheme for the federation of the ten leading nations which would result in the diminution of armaments and thus ensure the peace of the world. He did not find the President sympathetic to his scheme of federation.[109]

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[105] Garnier, Maker of Modern China, p. 83.

[106] Richard, Forty-five Years, p. 290.

[107] *Ibid.*, pp. 291-92.

He was the delegate from the Christian Literature Society in Shanghai, as well as one of the principal speakers, at the Ecumenical Congress held in New York in 1900;[110] at the World Baptist Congress, London, in

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[108] Richard, Forty-five Years, p. 296.

[109] *Ibid*., p. 373.

[110] *Ibid*., p. 295.

July 1905;[111] at the Peace Congress in Lucerne in 1905;[112] at the Peace Society gathering at the Guildhall in London in May 1910;[113] at the Edinburgh Conference also in 1910.[114]

Each time he was in London he expended much time and energy in trying to get more active co-operation and support from the Committee members of his own Baptist Society. He realized that whatever contributions would be sent to his work in China would depend on the strength of his appeal before the members. In a letter to the Home Secretary of the Baptist Society, he summed up his motives:

> All I plead for in one word is this, that the Church should attempt something worthy of *itself* towards China, something worthy of *China*, the greatest empire in the world, and something worthy of China in its *present crisis*. May the light of the Kingdom of Heaven be *prominent* in your committee rooms next Monday, and *always* gladden the heart of every member there.[115]

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[111] Richard, *Forty-five Years*, p. 326.

[112] *Ibid*., p. 371.

[113] *Ibid*., p. 375.

[114] *Ibid*., pp. 332-33.

[115] *Id*. to Baynes [England], 7 September 1885, in Richard MSS., B.M.S.

Richard spent the last years of his life writing articles for newspapers and periodicals or writing letters to world leaders on the necessity and means of securing peace for the world. He sent a copy of his leaflet called, "The Only Certain Way to Prevent War in the Future," to the leading officials in England, Canada, the United States, and the Orient. Even in this matter, as in his Reform plan, he stressed the need of basing the plan on the common recognition of God as the great Ruler in the affairs of men.[116]

Thus, Timothy Richard's efforts for world peace as well as for China's reform came to naught. His views, though workable and good, were considered to be the ideas of a single, well-intentioned individual without, however, the backing and support of any organization. Furthermore, the religious, educational, ecumenical, catechetical, and political ideas that he voiced were too advanced and so far ahead of the times as to be deemed impractical, importunate, unrealistic, and unorthodox. Yet it could be written of him,

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[116] Richard, Forty-five Years, p. 376.

> Timothy Richard reminds one of Isaiah the prophet. He companied with kings. He counseled with princes. He planned for multitudes. However, he was never headstrong, but always sought divine leadership. He had faith in God, and living in that trust he carried on in the surety that sowing was his work, but that God would do the reaping. He sowed that God might reap China for Himself.[117]

Yet Richard's ripened experience, his ecumenical spirit, his world-wide outlook, and his acumen and foresight must have been a vast powerhouse for his confreres as well as a tremendous source of inspiration for the younger generation of workers. It shows the measure and the humility of the man who answered a public tribute rendered by Rev. Samuel Couling in the name of all his fellow missionaries by saying, "I pray God that you may all be able to labor for an equally long time in China and render far greater service for the establishment of the Kingdom of God in this land than your pioneer colleague."[118]

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[117] Walter Stewart, Later Baptist Missionaries and Pioneers (Philadelphia, 1928), Vol. I, p. 33.

[118] Price-Evans, Timothy Richard, p. 148.

CHAPTER V

TIMOTHY RICHARD'S MISSIOLOGICAL IDEAS

The Baptist Missionary Society of London began its work of evangelization in North China in 1860. After a short acclimation period in Nanking, the five pioneer missioners of this Society established the first residential station of the Society in Chefoo, a coastal city in Shantung Province. Other Missionary Societies were already at work in the area but without much apparent success due to the hostility of the Chinese and the ravages of bandit hordes, offshoots of the T'ai-ping rebels. Ten years later, the Baptist Missionary Soicety staff had dwindled to one missionary, the Rev. F. Laughton, with a reported membership of thirty-five in two Baptist stations in Chefoo. It was in such circumstances that Timothy Richard arrived there on February 27, 1870. Less than four months later, Laughton died, his wife returned to England, and Timothy Richard was the lone Baptist Missionary Society representative in Chefoo. He felt this responsibility keenly and concentrated on his study of the language. "Left entirely alone, my various experiences formed my only guide, and from them I learned what courses to follow and what mistakes to avoid in the future."[1]

Towards the end of the year, Richard was joined by Dr. William Brown, the first Baptist Missionary Society medical missionary to China. Brown initiated medical missionary work on a systematic basis and continued working successfully and harmoniously with Richard among the Chinese. A disagreement over medical missionary policy with the Baptist Missionary Society Home Committee in London unfortunately led to his resignation in April, 1874. Brown's medical policy had shown Richard the opportunities for evangelism that medical work afforded.[2]

Other missionary acquaintances during those early Chefoo years had likewise initiated Timothy Richard in the various arts of the missionary. His contacts with the pioneer of scientific education in the Protestant missions in China, Dr. Calivn Mateer of the

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[1] Richard, Forty-five Years, p. 35.

[2] Williamson, British Baptists in China, pp. 32-33.

American Presbyterian Mission, convinced Richard of the tremendous possibilities for Christianizing the learned and official classes by offering them scientific lectures or demonstrating with scientifid apparatus when lecturing on religious subjects.[3] Richard's acquaintance with Dr. Alexander Williamson alerted him to the effectiveness of using Christian literature as the best means of opening the minds of the literati to the Gospel.[4] Mr. Robert Lilley of the National Bible Society of Scotland induced Richard to take several mission trips with him. One trip to Manchuria and Korea, a distance of six hundred miles north of Chefoo, was very important. On his return, he realized that this was the best way of distributing Scriptural material, finding out the catechetical needs of the region, ascertaining the most satisfactory locations for religious supplies depots and of learning the difficulties with which colporteurs would have to contend was to go to the spot. He made another long trip with Lilley in 1873 to Chinanfu, three hundred miles away, and came face to face with the Chinese educational and examination system. In this capital city, he saw twelve thousand scholars assembled to take the civil service examinations for the chu-jen degree (舉人), and one thousand candidates waiting to take a military examination.[5] He soon realized the opportunities presented by these annual tests.

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[3] Williamson, British Baptists in China, p. 34.

[4] Ibid.

> China has, generally speaking, two examinations for the Chinese, equivalent of our B.A. degree every three years, one examination for their M.A. degree every three years and one examination for their Lit.D. degree every three years. Thus there is at least one important examination every year.
>
> One has 200,000 candidates in 200 centres for their B.A.
> One has 200,000 candidates in 20 centres for their M.A.
> One has 10,000 candidates in 1 centre for their Lit.D. [*sic*]
>
> By circulating suitable Christian literature at these centres during the examinations, the leading men in the whole empire would be easily reached. Twenty-five men given wholly to this work could reach the whole empire. For the greatest efficiency, there would be required the systematic working at every centre by highly qualified men. By so working at a B.A. centre the picked men to two millions could be reached! At an M.A. centre the picked men to twenty millions could be reached! At the Doctor's centre the picked men of 400,000 could be reached!

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[5] Richard, Forty-five Years, pp. 56-57.

> This is the way one man may preach to a million.[6]

In November, 1876, Alfred Jones arrived in China to be a co-laborer with Richard. It was to be a fruitful association.

> All that Carey and Marshman meant to India, Timothy Richard and Alfred Jones meant to China. Each was the complement of the other; Timothy Richard, a spiritual genius and mystic seer; Alfred Jones, a Christian man of the world, of independent means, who shared Richard's large, forward-looking schemes to the full, and brought to them great business ability and organizing power.[7]

His own evangelistic experiences--chapel preaching, street preaching, preaching to large groups at county fairs--made Timothy Richard realize that these were not the only nor the most effective ways of doing missionary work, at least for him.[8] However, as soon as he began to blaze new missionary trails, his ideas and methods evoked sharp criticism from his Baptist colleagues, who felt that he should concentrate more on accepted and conventional lines of missionary endeavor. Long years before, when he was a student at Haverfordwest Theological College, he had felt that the teaching there was a hundred years behind the times and had struggled to obtain an updated cirruculum. Similarly, now he felt that current mission methods needed to be reassessed and enlightened by a knowledge of China's culture and religions and consequently implemented by a less restricted idea of ecumenics.[9]

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[6] Richard, "How One Man Can Preach to a Million," Chinese Recorder, Vol. XX, No. 11 (November 1889), p. 498.

[7] Stewart, Later Baptist Missionaries, Vol. II, p. 12.

[8] Richard, Forty-five Years, p. 62.

> There is a method which learns by experience, and knows what has succeeded and what has failed in the past. There is another which blindly follows methods which have been demonstrated to be failures a thousand times over. One is scientific, obedient to the Holy Spirit and wise, bringing order out of chaos. The other is unscientific disobedient and mad, undoing the work of the Spirit. Follow the Spirit whom the Master has sent to guide us into "all truth."
>
> These are some of the experiences gained in mission work, and they should not be thrown away in dealing with such a big problem as we have in China now.
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> . . . .
>
> Cannot the Baptist World Congress decide now to take an advanced step in this direction Christian unity and begin a federation of the six great denominations at work in China--Episcopalians, Methodists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Lutherans, and Baptists--into one cooperating force as far as possible; for God will not judge us by our creeds so much as by our fruit. This would be an immense gain to the whole nation, and nothing would be lost but a bit of empty vanity. In this way our economy and efficiency can be

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[9] Richard, "The Awakening of China and the Duty of the Home Church," Conversion by the Million (Shanghai, 1907), Vol. II, pp. 230-31.

> easily multiplied. . . .
>
> Since China is awake, let the Congress resolve, by the Grace of God, to make it Christian in this generation, and send a Christian ambassador to every provincial capital of China--a different type of man from the average missionary and he can easily do the work of ten.[10]

This partly explains why he gave considerable thought, time, and study to the following problems: the acceptance of candidates for the missions, the preparation of missionaries, the training of native evangelists, special works for special needs in the missions, and the relationship between the missions and the government.[11]

Long before the Manchu regime even dreamed of initiating a nation-wide reform program, Richard was recommending to the Baptist home office in London what he considered most important for new missioners to know before they arrived in China. First and foremost was religious education. Then he listed politics, history, education, commerce, and questions of national importance about all of which every missionary should have a broad knowledge. This was very essential at this juncture when the Chinese Government was considering reforms in railways, canals, mines, iron and steel furnaces, manufactures, and machinery.

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[10] Richard, "The Awakening of China and the Duty of the Home Church," Conversion by the Million (Shanghai, 1907), Vol. II, p. 231.

[11] Id., "The Political Status of Missionaries and Native Christians in China," Chinese Recorder, Vol. XVI, No. 2 (March-April, 1885), pp. 96-107.

> All the best Government authorities--Chinese and foreign--now realize more than ever that enlightenment must precede progress everywhere, and in China the missionaries are the only class of foreigners which devotes any time for this end. It is not simply by more men and more money, but by a deeper knowledge of the need of China, and a wiser adaptation of methods which change the minds of millions rather than units that it is to be brought about. It is not by crowds of missionaries everwhelming the Chinese, but by the mass of the whole body of the leading Chinese taking up our idea, being inspired and directed by a few men of God.
>
> . . . .
>
> Let the missionary societies provide eighteen missionary statesmen who shall have, after their university career, a post-graduate course in Comparative Religion, and in the Science of Religious Missions, Christian and non-Christian, who are to be placed one in each provincial capital of the Empire (average population of each province is twenty million), where they will keep the leading mandarins in their respective provinces well informed with regard to the leading factors in the progress of all nations, will co-operate with all the missionary societies in the province, and help to organize the best forces, so as to produce the highest good.[12]

Richard urged that the new missionaries get not just a cursory knowledge of these matters, but a thorough, practical command of the subject so as to be able not only to help in these fields after their arrival in China but also to initiate such works if necessary, and thus be of immediate assistance to Chinese officials.[13]

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[12] Richard, The China Problem, from a Missionary Point of View, pp. 4-6.

> The duties of the missionary get to be so various that there is no department in the state but that he may return invaluable aid to China now. Thirty years hence the national course will have been determined. . . .
>
> Cannot the Society at home ask a few of its leading men to come and help for five years in China or at least for two years? We wish to put the mightiest questions that were ever put to a nation to this government and the consequences to the hundreds of millions you will admit to surpass anything in history from the earliest times till now.[14]

He constantly reiterated the necessity of sending more missionaries to Shansi, at the same time begging the Baptist Society in London to send

> the best men for China not only in contra distinction to other mission fields--but also to even the home field.
>
> Without the best how can we well hope or well pray for success? When a serious war breaks out what government keeps its best generals at home?[15]

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[13] Richard, Forty-five Years, p. 199.

[14] *Id.* to Baynes, Shansi, 8 March 1884, in Richard MSS., B.M.S.

[15] *Id.* to *id.*, London, 11 June 1885, *ibid.*

In 1885, he wrote a paper called, "Higher Missionaries for China," in which he outlined the criteria he thought should be used in the selection of future missionaries.[16] He persisted on the points of selectivity and quality:

> How long shall these highest Posts on earth which God has so recently opened in China be unoccupied? I implore you to choose from among you your ablest and your noblest who are full of the Holy Ghost, to go and occupy the land. The vision once was from Macedonia. The vision today is from China. Don't you hear the voice "Come over and help us?"[17]

There was not much response from the Baptist Society so some weeks later he again wrote to Baynes on the same matter:

> To send out fourteen men to China on recommendation instead of qualification is to deceive ourselves with numbers. Quantity can never make up for quality. Whatever we sow that shall we also reap. The Chinese say sow potatoes and you get potatoes. Are we not now sowing the certain failure of the Baptist Mission in China and that deliberately? There is a health of body. There is a health of mind and there is a health of soul. Weakness in any one of these three links is not to be trifled with. If we have not the men let us look for them. Is there any great

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[16] Richard to Baynes, London, 16 July 1885, in Richard MSS., B.M.S.

[17] *Id.* to *id.*, London, 7 September 1885, *ibid.*

> blessing brought about by accident?[18]

In another letter he said:

> Not only have I found it so by painful experience but God's choice vessels--Moses, Samuel, David, Isaiah, Daniel, Paul--were men who were qualified far beyond the many. . . .
> If missioners had their degrees in some of these subjects--Comparative, Theology, Philosophy, History, Physics, Chemistry, Medicine, Evangelistic Methods--they would then be competent to teach others.[19]

If he kept urging the sending of missionaries who were the best spiritually and intellectually, it was because they were to be the leaders of leaders in a time of great national crisis. To allay criticism he wrote,

> I want you to know I realize the importance of evangelistic work and the necessity of patient loving dealing with each individual we can get hold of. Although I have pleaded for men to be most highly qualified so as to be able collectively to be authorities on chief and important branches of education yet nothing could be further from my mind than that these should be made subservient to that higher and Diviner knowledge that maketh wise unto salvation.[20]

His most eloquent plea for selectivity appeared in the Recorder:

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[18] Richard to Baynes, London, 31 October 1885, in Richard MSS., B.M.S. Italics his.

[19] Id. to id., London, 6 March 1886, ibid.

[20] Id. to id., Shansi, 7 March 1887, ibid.

> The Chinese principle for a millenium has been to appoint only the best scholars to the post of governing the people. Hence, being the picked of millions, they have raised China to the point of pre-eminence over all nations in the Far East.
>
> If we are to bring about the best result in Christian missions, we are, in addition to piety, to endeavor to choose the best-qualified men from our universities, for the posts of ambassadors of the kingdom of God in the land.[21]

Once the missioners were selected and assigned to China, what did Richard propose that they should do? He felt that they should live at the chief ports, provincial capitals, and prefectural cities, centralizing in those places and letting the Chinese agents take charge of the county towns. Confining the residence for missionaries to the chief centers would, he felt sure, stifle the rise of national prejudice.[22] As to works, Timothy Richard stated that there were four chief methods of missionary work--all indispensable. These methods were evangelistic, educational, medical, and literary.[23]

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[21] Richard, "Of More Value Than a Thousand Missionaries," Chinese Recorder, Vol. XXXIV, No. 1 (January, 1903), p. 7.

[22] *Id.*, "The Crisis in China and How to Meet It," *loc. cit.*, p. 79.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 80.

In Richard's opinion, evangelistic work included the obvious things--preaching, teaching, organizing, holding bible classes, and also extensive travelling for the distribution of tracts. He was also convinced that evangelism should involve much study of native books, much giving up of personal feelings for the sake of intercourse with the heathens, and much humble learning from many of the most devout minds of China.[24] Richard felt that evangelistic efforts would be successful in proportion to the number, ability, virtue, and spirituality of those engaged in that phase of the work. But even then, the net results would be comparatively few converts.

Educational programs included the opening of primary, secondary, or vocational schools; the teaching of English in already-established schools, training teachers, and so on. He felt that this method of missionary endeavor involved an immense expenditure of time, especially the training of native pastors, evangelists, and teachers.[25] He formulated a scheme of modern education for China which involved, among other things, a Christian college in Shansi at Taiyuanfu, to be sponsored and supported by the Baptist Missionary Society in London. But the Society did not approve the scheme.[26] His long-range proposal had suggested that the Society erect a Christian college in the capital of each of China's eighteen provinces. These would hold the key to the speedy Christianization of the literati, who in turn would transmit that knowledge to their inferiors. Even if the rulers themselves did not become Christians, at least the religious orientation obtained in a Christian college would make them feel kindly disposed to the Christian religion. The Baptist Committee considered this "a wild scheme" and burned Richard's proposal.[27]

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[24] Richard, "Thoughts on Chinese Missions: Difficulties and Tactics," Chinese Recorder, Vol. XI, No. 6 (November-December, 1880), pp. 430-41.

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[25] Richard, "The Crisis in China and How to Meet It," loc. cit., p. 156.

[26] Id., Forty-five Years, pp. 198-99.

[27] Morgan, "Timothy Richard," p. 7 in Wyre Lewis Papers, National Library, Aberystwyth.

Medical work was very necessary and very important, of course. His early experience in Chefoo showed him the necessity for this kind of work, and he hoped those already in that field would communicate to him some guidelines for effective techniques in this area.

> Famine relief and medical work in Shantung, Shansi, Chihli and other parts of China created a spring atmosphere of good-will among officials and people. Take care that, after such an atmosphere has been by great labor and toil created, you do not sow thistles but only good wheat--the bread of life.[28]

The literary method, to Richard's way of thinking, was the best of methods, for it had numberless advantages over the others. In its results, it was more rapid, more widespread, more profound, more final. It was a most potent way of quickly influencing public opinion. It was the most effective way of reaching the mandarins, other officials, and the literati, who would not attend a Christian place of worship nor permit foreign missionaries to enter their homes.

> The object of all [our literary work] is to show to the intelligent Chinaman that Christianity

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[28] Richard, "How a Few Men May Make a Million Converts," loc. cit., p. 277.

> does not come to destroy, as he fears, but to fulfill, and to bring untold material, intellectual and political benefits, as well as the social, moral and spiritual blessings.[29]

Securing the understanding and co-operation of these officials in this way was much better than securing it by gunboats or through consulates.[30]

Furthermore, books were in keeping with the scholastic traditions of the Chinese. It was mostly through this medium, rather than by preaching, that the three important religions--Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism--were propagated in China.[31] And then, too, religious books could reach more people in more places than individual missionaries could ever hope to reach. By guiding the reading of Government officials, the literati and students, Richard said, "We guide the 400 millions of China!"[32]

These were some of the reasons why Timothy Richard accepted with alacrity the invitation to serve as General Secretary of the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge among the Chinese, familiarly referred to as the S.D.K. (同文書會). The name was later changed to the Christian Literature Society, C.L.S. (廣學會). During the twenty-five years of his leadership, this Society produced an abundance of literature of the highest order and consequence. "The catalogue grew from a few under ten to one of nearly eight hundred during his stewardship."[33] Books were prepared in Chinese on the rise and fall of nations, on the benefits Christianity had conferred on every continent, on Jesus Christ in relation to the world--indeed, on every subject bearing directly or indirectly on the Kingdom of God in the world. Biographies proved an especially fruitful field, Marquis Tseng wrote in a Peking paper that the lives of great men remind us that by imitating them we, too, can get near the Tao (道).[34] The books were circulated throughout the provinces, especially to the officials and to the students in the examination centers.

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[29] Richard, "The Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge among the Chinese," loc. cit., p. 310.

[30] Id., "The Crisis in China and How to Meet It," loc. cit., pp. 80-81.

[31] Ibid., p. 81.

[32] Ibid., p. 82.

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[33] Morgan, "Timothy Richard," p. 5 in Wyre Lewis Papers, National Library, Aberystwyth.

[34] _Ibid_.

In addition to books, the Christian Literature Society concentrated on producing maps and charts. Richard himself made charts on anthropology, dynasties, religions, and other subjects, the object being to strike the eye and enlighten the mind. Maps served a useful purpose. Fans were sold with the two hemispheres printed on either side. Prizes were offered for the best essays written on assigned topics that were intended to stimulate thought and enlighten the mind. Monthly magazines, such as Young Allen's *Review of the Times* (萬國公報) and the *Missionary Review* (中西教會報), and many illustrated booklets were also widely circulated by the Christian Literature Society.[35] These writings, assiduously brought to the notice of the highest officials and hundreds of thousands of students throughout the Empire, were one of the greatest forces in hastening the awakening of China. The results were widespread and many officials offered their co-operation and protection.

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[35] Morgan, "Timothy Richard," p. 6 in Wyre Lewis Papers, National Library, Aberystwyth.

> Viceroy Chang Chih-tung, in 1894, sent 1000 taels (£160), and others (among them the head of the China Merchants' Company), unasked, sent smaller sums. During the Japanese War, both the Viceroys Li Hung-chang and Chang Chih-tung consulted us. When Reform Societies were formed by the highest statesmen in Peking and Shanghai, they frequently asked advice of us. . . .
>
> Our work has touched very important classes. Many officials, high and low, have now promised us protection and help for Christians.[36]

All lthis paid dividends, especially before and during the Boxer Uprising in 1900, when anti-Christian persecutions in the provinces could often coincide with favor at the gradually weakening imperial court. Some officials, however, suffered because of their kindness to the missionaries.

> Some mandarins have sacrificed all prospect of official preferment and have braved the brunt of a very powerful public opinion, rather than be party to blind prejudice. They are kind to missionaries, and fair to Christians, and long to do good to their country by every means in their power.[37]

For Timothy Richard, harmonious relations with officials meant a speedy and marvellous way of turning the millions of China to God, which would be of immense blessing to China as well as to the whole world.

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[36] Richard, "The Crisis in China and How to Meet It," loc. cit., pp. 82-83.

[37] Id., "The Political Status of Missionaries and Native Christians in China," loc. cit., pp. 102-103.

> At this stupendous crisis there is no time to be lost. A plenteous autumn harvest can only be secured by the right use of spring.
>
> If immediate steps are taken on the lines indicated, then, with God's blessing, we may expect to see speedy and marvelous results in the turning of the millions of China to Jesus Christ, and this crisis in China made an immense blessing to the rest of the human race.[38]

The traditions of Christianity and of China itself were the justification for Timothy Richard's making, almost exclusively, the political, intellectual, and religious leaders of China his real target in evangelism. He felt that to make any kind of impression on the country you had to work from the top down, you had to start directly at the head of the empire, rather than attempting to undermine the non-Christian structure from beneath. You had to be thoroughly knowledgeable in the cultures, psychologies, philosophies, and the religions of the Chinese in order to achieve successful proselytism. Therefore, he attempted a shrewd and arduous policy of elitism, of meeting the leaders on their own ground. "We must not neglect the enlightenment of those who, in God's Providence hold the key to the hearts of the masses."[39] He courted the ablest and most intelligent men of the rising generation and attempted to shape their ideas of national reform. "They brought their [reform] rules for me to revise, and discussed with me how they could help to enlighten their country."[40] He determined to enlighten the literati, religious leaders, and the ruling cliques of Peking. Once they were kindly disposed to Christianity the vast multitudes of ignorant and illiterate Chinese would imitate their example.

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[38] Richard, "The Crisis in China and How to Meet It," loc. cit., p. 86.

> The genius of the Chinese people is pre-eminently to listen to their rulers, who are expected to take paternal interest in everything that pertains to their welfare. If the rulers oppose Christianity suspicions abound on every side; if they approve then all classes are stimulated to friendship and enquiry.[41]

He went even further. Richard intermingled his religious exhortations with lectures and demonstrations on scientific matters and on the social and economic conditions of China, which made him an indispensable teacher and an official consultant.[42] His confreres accused him of hiding the Gospel light under a basket, but Richard considered it the only way to approach the Chinese mind then. As often as not, he did not obtain the result he sought, for usually these men showed more interest in science than in Christianity, and they remained even more antagonistic to religious influence. He was well aware that a later missioner would probably reap the fruit of his labors.

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[39] Richard, "The Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge Among the Chinese," loc. cit., p. 809.

[40] Id., Forty-five Years, p. 254.

[41] Id., "The Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge Among the Chinese," loc. cit., p. 308.

As he felt more sure of himself and of his knowledge, Richard dared to suggest a plan advocating the establishment of a Universal Religion, which would be a gradiose pattern, fusing Christianity, Judaism, Mohammedanism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, Hinduism, and Shintoism. He felt that if all these religions would dwell on those principles and aims on which they were all agreed, rather than on points of differences; if all co-operated from the vantage point of their common object, on which all were in accord; if each one contributed the great truths they had received from the inspiration of the One Holy Spirit--then strife and jealousy would disappear, good will and brotherly love would grow and flourish, and righteousness and peace would reign. This would bring peace and uplift to the world and hasten the coming of the Kingdom of God on earth.[43]

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[42] Richard, Forty-five Years, pp. 158-63.

During his secretaryship in the Christian Literature Society and consequent residence in Shanghai, Richard was forced by the turbulent situation in the Empire to spend a great deal of time working on the problems and dangers encountered by the missionaries (of all denominations, not just hiw own) and negotiating an agreement with the Government safeguarding their lives, their works, their properties, and their congregations. His constant aim was to get from the Government certain minimum rights, such as

1) The right of residence to missionaries anywhere and everywhere throughout the Empire;

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[43] Richard, "Proposal for the Formation of a League of Religions," Good Will. This article, dated 7 December 1918, was the last article Richard wrote before his death in National Library, Aberystwyth. A note in Richard's hand directed that this be sent to the editor.

> 2) Genuine protection for native Christians;
>
> 3) Proper punishment of officials and leaders who allow persecution instead of no punishment as is the rule at present;
>
> 4) Proper punishment of missionaries and Christians for exceeding their limits instead of mob-attacks as is the rule at present.[44]

To achieve these objectives, Richard wrote to the various embassies or consulates in Peking, urging these foreign officials to take the necessary steps to protect their own subjects. He wrote to Alfred Baynes at the Baptist Missionary Society in London begging him to use his office to advocate the cause before the British Government, adding that he would thus render invaluable service to mission work in China.[45] It was vital for the foreigners to take these measures because of the intransigent attitude of the Chinese.

> One immense hindrance to missionary work in China is the hostile attitude of the Mandarins, the gentry, and the educated classes. For millenniums the Chinese have been taught to consider themselves vastly superior to every nation under the sun, and, as their educational curriculum to this day is still unchanged, there is springing up annually a fresh crop of scholars

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[44] Richard to Baynes, Edinburgh, 31 August 1885 in Richard MSS., B.M.S.

[45] *Id.* to *id.*, Peking, 31 May 1884, *ibid.*

> in absolute ignorance of the outside world, and with the same intense pride and prejudice as of old. For centuries, too, the Chinese government has systematically opposed all intercourse with foreigners as they regard it full of peril.[46]

Later, in London, on the same problem Richard observed that,

> The mandarins and leading men of China had made up their minds a century ago to regard all missionary work, whether medical work, free schools, or other charities, as only a method of stealing the hearts of the Chinese people preparatory to stealing their country; and they would naturally oppose the missionary everywhere. Thus the opening of hundreds of stations in the interior was the signal for many riots organized by the mandarins and gentry, entailing a great deal of correspondence and worry for the consuls, who began in consequence to weary of the missionary cause. . . .
>
> . . . .
>
> They [missionaries] were unpopular because the Christian church has not been infallible. It has founded missions from the Universities for the least civilized of the human race, and sent them to Africa, while for the most civilized non-Christian nation it has sent many hundreds of missionaries, men and women, who occasionally boast that they have had no college training, and while they showed plenty of zeal and devotion, yet they preached along lines long discarded by all leaders in Christendom. Consequently, while some Chinese were attracted, many were repelled by their doctrines. . . .
>
> The missionaries also were unpopular because of the lack of understanding between the British Government and the missionaries, as if they represented different interests, instead of being only different phases of the civilization

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[46] Richard, "The Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge Among the Chinese," loc. cit., p. 308. Italics his.

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the Christian Missions and requesting religious liberty. A long memorial[49] was drawn up by him in consultation with six other outstanding missionaries, but as no propitious opportunity presented itself, the Memorial was not presented to the Chinese Government until 1895. Richard was able, then, to obtain an assurance of better treatment for the missions and missionaries in the future, though the promise was short-lived.[50]

Though there were many foreign missionaries, there was an even greater number of native evangelists, thanks to Richard's application of a basic missionary principle--that native evangelists were the most effective teachers. He felt very strongly that the foreign missionaries should never perform functions that could be done just as easily and competently by natives. He felt just as strongly that the Chinese church should become, quickly and permanently, self-supporting.[51] To carry out this idea of doing nothing for the Church which it could and ought to do for itself, Richard's Shantung mission had a institute for the training of pastors, evangelists, schoolmasters, and lay preachers. The length of training extended from two to six years, depending on the purpose for which the students entered and the subjects they took. There were from forty to fifty students at a time in the institute, each one of whom subscribed something for his maintenance. When the students finished at the institute and were assigned to their stations, they were the core of an evangelistic scheme designed to use voluntary effort to the full.[52]

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[49] Synopsis of this Memorial is contained in Appendix F, pp. 272-4 supra.

[50] Richard, Forty-five Years, pp. 242-52.

[51] Id., "The English Baptist Mission," China Mission Hand-Book, p. 44.

In every Christian community a leader was appointed for the spiritual instruction of Christians and inquirers. A Sunday School teacher was also appointed to teach the children in a Sunday class. The leader of each district was responsible for from five to ten mission stations. All the leaders met together monthly for prayer and Bible study; and, at these meetings, arrangements were made for the supply of local preachers at each station during the ensuing month. This was the plan followed in the mission's newer districts.[53]

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[52] Richard, "The English Baptist Mission," China Mission Hand-Book, p. 43.

In the older districts, the scheme called for the use of six trained pastors, each with twelve to twenty stations under his charge. Their duties were to visit each station in turn, administer the ordinances, and discharge all the duties of pastor in consultation with a foreign missionary. The pastors and evangelists spent two or three days once a month with the foreign missionaries in prayer, Bible study, and conference.[54] The six native pastors were supported by the native Church without any help from the foreign mission. The contributions came from the stations included in the scheme. In fixing the salaries of the pastors, the desire was not to make them rich men but respected men, and so the pay of the local schoolmaster was taken as a guide. The plan also permitted the pastors to live in their own homes, attend to their farms in the busy harvest season, and give at the least nine months service entirely to the Church.[55]

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[53] Richard, "The English Baptist Mission," China Mission Hand-Book, pp. 43-44.

[54] Ibid., p. 44.

[55] Ibid., p. 45.

From the very beginning, it was impressed upon the converts that voluntary evangelistic work in their own neighborhood was not only their privilege but their duty. There was a monthly check on arrangements and results at prayer meetings. Even the women visited neighboring villages, distributed religious tracts, and tried to spread the Gospel message to those of their own sex. In this way, family and friends, both so important in Chinese society, were influential in spreading Christianity.[56] This was the scheme which permitted and enabled the foreign missionaries, whose members were inadequate to cope with an increasing number of inquirers, to evangelize wider areas than they individually could have done. This was the plan that Timothy Richard devised for the initiation and development of mission areas throughout the Provinces of Shansi and Shantung.

How did Richard, in his personal life, live out his missionary ideas and ideals? Timothy Richard was totally dedicated to the missionary vocation to which he had felt himself called as a young boy shortly after his baptism in the River Caio in Wales. He never once deviated from that dedication, even when other tempting and lucrative positions were offered him, not once but many times.

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[56] Richard, "The English Baptist Mission," China Mission Hand-Book, p. 43.

> On October 18th [1887] I took my family to Tientsin. There I had an offer of translation work for the Government at the Arsenal, with a salary of 600 a year, but I could not contemplate breaking with missionary work.[57]

Eight years later, in October, 1895, he wrote:

> Before I left Peking, Sun Chia-nai [the Emperor's tutor] offered me the position of President of the Peking University. . . . Not seeing my way to accept the position, I declined. But he sent a second invitation after me to Shanghai, and again I refused. . . . A third invitation was sent me on my way home to England.[58]

When, in 1905, Wilson and Fullerton of the Baptist Missionary Society in London arrived in China for the opening of the Shantung Christian University in Chi-nan fu (a project which Richard had proposed to the Baptists twenty years earlier), Richard met them at the ship and cared for them during their brief stay in Shanghai. As they parted from him to go to Shantung, he said, "If you see the Governor, do not look upon yourselves only as the representatives of the Missionary Society; remember that you are--ambassadors, ambassadors of God."[59] So he always thought of himself.

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[57] Richard, Forty-five Years, p. 206.

[58] Ibid., p. 257.

All with whom he came in contact knew him as a man who lived very near to God. His patience, courtesy, and good humor, requisites for Confucian gentlemen as well as for Christian missionaries, gradually wore down native opposition and won good will for the Missions. His healing of the sick won the confidence and affection of the people. The deference and respect with which he treated the officials was an important factor in his being able to maintain good relations with them.[60] He felt the greatest compassion for the illiterate, ignorant, suffering Chinese, for he said they were left "like sheep without a shepherd."[61]

In his daily living, Richard carried out St. Paul's injunction to be "all things to all men." He became Sinified in his living: he wore Chinese garb, he ate Chinese food, he lived in a Chinese house, and he became friends with Catholic, Buddhist, Taoist priests, of Confucian scholars, of peasants, workers, coolies. He lived frugally, living mostly on rice, in order to buy books and scientific equipment for his lectures to the Chinese and the prolific writings he did on many topics.[62] He wrote to his daughters, "Your Mother and I have given all our earnings to the Mission cause."[63] He conversed as a mandarin with mandarins, as a man in authority to officials. He gladly and generously welcomed all points of contact, recognizing truth wherever it was to be discovered. He spent all his energies in trying to break down prejudice, ignorance, apathy, and superstition, never failing to remind his listeners that "the highest, noblest life this world has ever seen, having boundless aspirations and irrepresible powers in individuals and nations is from God in Christ."[64] He humbly, admitted,

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[59] Payne, The Great Succession, p. 144.

[60] MacGillivray, Timothy Richard of China, p. 11.

[61] Eddy, Pathfinders of the World Missionary Crusade, p. 183.

> In all my interviews [with leaders] I never forgot that Christ came to fulfill and not

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[62] Richard, Forty-five Years, pp. 158-59.

[63] Id. to his four daughters, London, 16 February 1897, in Napier MSS.

[64] Id., Fifteen Years Missionary Work in China, p. 18.

> to destroy. He comes to save, to regenerate, and to sanctify, and to make divine. To fulfill their noblest aims better than any other Teacher the world has ever seen. And He will not destroy one iota of good in their systems more than in Judaism of old.[65]

The missionary zeal that motivated him he tried to instill in his daughters. It was his hope and continuous prayer that they, too, would be inspired to become missionaries and work for the regeneration of China. He urged his wife to "let the girls read biographies of the noblest women you can get hold of so that they may think how God will have them to best serve their day and generation."[66] To his second daughter, Mary, he wrote one time,

> Now that about you and Ella? Do you ever think that you two would like to do work similar to your Mother's and thus bring comfort and unspeakable joy into the heart of your fellowmen? If you think you would like it, pray diligently, daily and weekly till you get it, that God may accept your humble service so that you also may join the great army of Christ who go about only to do good. These are the true angels which God sends forth every day on their errands of love and mercy.[67]

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[65] Richard, Fifteen Years Missionary Work in China, p. 11.

[66] Id. to Mary Martin Richard, Shanghai, 3 May 1895, in Napier MSS.

[67] Id. to Mary Celia Richard, Shanghai, n.d., ibid.

Again to Mary, this time on her 14th birthday, he wrote in part,

> You are growing now to begin to see the great importance of proper education so as to fit you for the high position which God may call you to occupy in a few years from now. You read of heroes and heroines in books. Your own story is about to begin.
>
> To begin then it is of the utmost importance to have a high and noble aim in life, then your life story will be noble. Without it you can tell before hand that there cannot be the elements of the true heroine. May God help you to find out the high ideal He means you to occupy then it matters not how low the sphere may be. There are heroines in all spheres. May you be one.[68]

Richard simplified the ideal to accommodate his young daughters, but there is no denying that he was giving his estimate of the aims and desired achievements of missioners when he advised,

> It is by benefiting our fellowmen that we become acceptable to God. (You, Ella will remember "About Ben Adhem"). Christ came to deliver His people from sin and suffering. His people do the same. The 25th chapter of Matthew, v. 35 on, clearly describes those who are well pleasing to Jesus Christ. . . .
>
> The beginning of service of this kind is the beginning of the Christ-like life, and its joy begins at once in the heart. The end is eternal life. This is to have the same mind as was in Christ Jesus. It is this spirit that has caused

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[68] Richard to Mary Celia Richard, Shanghai, 21 September 1894, in Napier MSS.

> so many men and women to go forth from Christian lands. . . .[69]

He then enumerated all the places to which missionaries went and all the types of work they did, after which he added,

> Above all, they [the missionaries] teach them how God created all things for the good of man. Without the study of such things we do not know how many millions of things God has created for our use. By knowing them more and more and using them for the good of our fellowmen then God's blessing will always rest on us in this life, and, when our work is done, He will take us to himself, to be the true Immortal ones.[70]

In late 1899, he wrote a New Year's greeting to his four daughters, then in England. He first told them of four guests who had dined with him and his wife that evening.

> Before they left we had worship and I spoke to them of our being sent here in God's Providence to do a great thing--to make China anew. Only a handful of missionaries trying to change the minds, the ideals, the customs and habits of a fourth of the human race. Never in the history of the world was there a bigger task before any.
>
> Then my thoughts ran away to you, as they often do, though I do not write often, and I wondered where in God's Providence your lot would be finally cast and what department of work you

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[69] Richard to Eleanor and Mary Richard, Shanghai, 10 March 1893, in Napier MSS.

[70] Ibid.

> would be undertaking. Sometimes I think of you all being out here helping to elevate the Chinese. . . . At other times I think that some cause now altogether unseen may turn the whole tenor of your life--none of you in Peking, in Shanghai, or anywhere in China. This last possibility however I only look upon as a calamity as hitherto I have always bound up all that you might to with the life work of your mother and myself.
>
> At the same time we must always keep our minds open to the new Providences of God which are only disclosed as we come up to them. Still I imagine you may be of great service in teaching some of the leading families in Peking, in Shanghai, or elsewhere in China.
>
> We still live in lodgings in order to save money to keep you at school and fit you for your future life. We cannot afford to entertain as many guests as we wish for the same reason. However, we want you to have such advantages as will enable you to do something that will be a help to your fellow men. May God accept our present sacrifices and your efforts. Then we shall rejoice together.[71]

His joy was great when all four daughters told him they wished to engage in mission work in China. The two oldest planned to start in late 1901, and he urged the Baptist Mission Society to update its arrangements for women missionaries and to keep abreast of the times. "I believe that the time has come for a new departure in lady mission work," he wrote, "by which highly qualified women can be far more efficient than by methods inaugurated thirty years ago to suit very different conditions." He added that if there were any such up-to-date mission organization his daughters would join forces with it; otherwise they would come to China in an independent capacity.[72]

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[71] Richard to his four daughters, 25 November 1899, in Napier MSS.

In other ways, too, Richard demonstrated his personal commitment. For example, he was fifteen years in China before he took his first furlough and returned to England and Wales. Eleven years elapsed before his second visit home. During neither of these leaves did he take much rest or relaxation. He had of necessity to do some deputation work for the Society, but in his free time he spent every possible moment planning ways to get help for China.

> If there are some individuals interested in China, in committee or out of it [he wrote to Baynes] I should very much like to have some days talk with them, singly or collectively.
>
> I hear there is a Conference on the Missions to be held in Manchester soon. Could you arrange for me to speak there, if you think it worthwhile?
>
> Would you permit me to distribute my paper, "Wanted, Good Samaritans for China," in all the colleges, universities, the Y.M.C.A., and among the leading ministers?
>
> Could you call together a Conference of the

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[72] Richard to Baynes, Shanghai, 2 August 1901, in Richard MSS., B.M.S.

> China missionaries who are at home now belonging to all the Societies?[73]

When he was not writing articles or giving talks on China, Richard visited schools to learn the latest educational methods. He took some short science courses and spent endless time trying to interest his own and other Societies in increasing personnel and financial help for the China missions. He was also available for frequent interviews with representatives of the British press, speaking of missionary needs and responsibilities.

> And the conversion of China depends on what missionaries do to enlighten and convince the leaders of China within the next thirty years. Therefore, from a missionary standpoint, there never was such a problem before and can never be again because there is not a second China to be converted. . . . A very large number of the students of China are turning to the missionaries for light and guidance, not by units and thousands, but by tens of thousands.
>
> What is wanted are wisdom, light, love, and adaptation to the present circumstances, for China has during the past ten years made such a stride as might have required centuries to accomplish. What I want is that all thinking men may realize the great problem, for it is a problem that in its results will affect the whole world.[74]

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[73] Richard to Baynes, Edinburgh, 31 October 1885, in Richard MSS., B.M.S.

[74] Statement by Timothy Richard in a personal interview with a representative of the Western Daily Press, London, n.d. [probably 1905].

After the Boxer Rebellion, the failure of the Allies to dictate in the peace negotiations anything about the reform of China made Richard indignant and more determined to elaborate new missionary methods for new times. He condemned the callousness of the Powers who preferred to relegate China to a continued state of weakness, poverty, and ignorance, lest a new and strong China become a formidable rival to their trade and industry.

> This means that Christian missions in China will have to be carried on in the face of the ignorance and suspicion of the Chinese, in opposition to the wishes of some of the Powers, and in spite of the neutrality or indifference of the British and American Governments. Therefore, in order to succeed in China, we must have two lines of action; our work must tell not only on China itself but also on those Powers who adopt a policy avowedly unchristian and therefore, largely anti-missionary, and also on those whose policy is indifference to Christian missions.
>
> In other words, to succeed in China our work must be international and universal. . . . We in China endeavor to do the harder work of converting a hostile government first to be friendly, and then to adopt Christian principles which are universal and reciprocal, as its policy.[75]

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[75] Richard, "Some New Conditions of Missionary Work in Pacified China," printed paper No. 115 of the Christian Literature Society, Shanghai, 30 April 1901.

Richard wrote that after sixty years of experience, missionaries had discovered that there were two very effective ways of influencing the millions of China, 1) by the systematic distribution of carefully prepared literature, and 2) frequent communication with the authorities by competent and experienced persons. He felt that missionary activity, carried out in personal, friendly intercourse, allayed fear and suspicion and produced love and confidence, a great desire for reform and regeneration, and feelings of good will to all the world.

> The old methods of mission work aimed at influencing a village or a town or at most comparatively very few towns by each mission. . . . The new methods aim at enlisting the sympathy of the Chinese themselves with Christian principles, so that they themselves may carry the message enthusiastically to their fellow countrymen, and establish schools, colleges, and churches. We have seen it work marvellously already on a limited scale, but we want to extend it so as to embrace every province till the whole Empire is regenerated on Christian lines.[76]

He said that the new method was vastly superior to the old methods and, in addition, "it was not possible a generation ago, it may not be possible a generation hence, but it is possible now. 'Now is the accepted time, now is the day of salvation' for China."[77] He then appealed to all Missionary Societies to

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[76] Richard, "Some New Condition," loc. cit.

> consider carefully whether it is not better to follow Providential openings like this than to follow old and comparatively unsuccessful methods which were adapted chiefly to former times and conditions.[78]

In the interest of all Missions, he advocated an intensive study of the Science of Missions for which there was still no textbook worthy of the name.

> The result is that many missionaries--perhaps the majority--are engaged in kinds of mission work which have been proved for the thousandth time to be of very little value, however enthusiastically carried on. Modern science has in so many ways proved that those who know the science have been able to improve their departments a hundred fold. It is quite plain to the missionary seers, of which God still has a few (in this age as well as in the past, though the ignorant do not recognize them till they are dead), that twenty missionaries who know the Science can easily do more than 2,000 without that knowledge.[79]

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[77] Richard, "Some New Conditions," loc. cit.

[78] Ibid.

[79] Id., "Some of the Greatest Needs of Christian Missions," Chinese Recorder, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 4 (April, 1907), p. 211.

It was a constantly recurring theme with Richard after 1900, that China was learning, through pain and humiliation, that her antiforeign riots and massacres of innocent people were crimes against humanity for which she had to pay the costliest penalty. The best way to avoid future dangers through ignorance and suspicion would be to adopt modern education and "to carry out the will of God by friendship with all nations." Richard was pleased to see the viceroys and governors opening a modern university in each of the eighteen provinces. That is what he had begged his own Baptist Society to undertake more than twenty years earlier. As a result of these universities, the hostile attitude of the students and people in every province changed. Their Christianizing influence would be more fully felt when missionaries and teachers refrained from

> attacking long-cherished beliefs and instead presentating Christ and His salvation. . . . It is union with Christ and not the blind following of even wise precepts, which delivers men from errors of faith and of practice.
>
> Preach and teach such things, then you will find the best Confucianists, the best Buddhists, the best Taoists, the best Mohammedans will soon be ready to drop the non-essentials in their respective religions, and to join with you to establish the Kingdom of God first in human

> hearts and then in organizations for the salvation of the whole world. Then, too, it will be found that where there were hundreds of converts before, there will be thousands now, and where there were thousands before, there will be tens of thousands now, crying "Alleluia, for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth, King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, and He shall reign for ever and ever.[80]

Richard's missionary ideals were difficult and demanding ones. He held that the missionary vocation is not for idlers, weaklings, and selfish individuals but for those who consider it a privilege to perform Christ's work at the cost of any sacrifice. His own writings bear this out:

> . . . So we have now but to continue to do our best in the midst of uncertainty. We shall endeavor to be faithful to the cause dearest to the heart of every missionary--the propagation of the Gospel of salvation--and then whatever step they will take we shall have a conscience void of offence towards God and man. As God has led us unmistakably so far, though it be step by step we still trust to His guidance. Lead kindly light has been a special song of ours during the last ten months and must continue still so. . . .[81]

Timothy Richard tried unfailingly to let the light of the Divine Missioner direct his path and permeate his actions and that was why he could say, "What I desire first and foremost is that the Kingdom of Heaven may be advanced."[82]

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[80] Richard, Introduction dated London, September, 1905, in Robert J. Davidson and Isaac Mason, Life in West China (London, 1905).

[81] Richard to James and Mary Jane Martin, Peking, 17 December 1887, in Napier MSS.

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[82] Richard to his wife and daughters, Peking, 4 July 1902, in Napier MSS.

CONCLUSION

Timothy Richard was a Christian committed to a personal mission, based on the testimony of the Scriptures. From his intellectual and spiritual depths he made his commitment and then went on to confront the Orient, not as its enemy, but as its friend; not to attack it, but to re-create it; not to destroy its blind groping for reform, but to lead it by the strong hand of a relevant faith and a pure Christian vision to the grandeur God had in mind for it when He created it. Richard sought to share with all men, and with the Chinese in particular, the joyous knowledge that God is a loving Father and that Jesus Christ is Our Lord and Savior.

The Christian cares. He cares about people wherever they are. He cares because Christ died for them as for him. Timothy Richard cared. He cared especially for the Chinese, whom he thought were destined to become the greatest people in the Far East. He felt that the enormous population of China made any probability of access to them with the Gospel assume extraordinary importance. China had four hundred million people, more than the population of all the nations of Europe. It was one fourth of the whole human race.

China had its own special reasons for urgency in the Christian missions. China previously had been sealed against Christianity. Missionaries had been permitted to return to North China only ten years between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, before Timothy Richard arrived there in 1870. He immediately experienced the bitterness and hatred with which the Chinese had been accustomed to regard the Westerners and all their ways, including their religion. The grounds for it were not far to seek. Their ancient civilization had filled them with a supreme contempt for the comparative upstarts of the West. When these latter were barbarians, China had enjoyed for a thousand years a well-ordered government, with all the arts, philosophy, and religion that are theirs today. And the intercourse which they had had with the West had only confirmed them in this deep-rooted antipathy; for it always resulted to them in defeat, humiliation, and loss of territory. The Chinese then regarded all the endeavors of Christian missionaries to propagate their faith as having the same end in view, and the success of Christianity meant the loss of all that the Chinese most value, their religion and their country. The Chinese, therefore, barely tolerated the presence of these foreign religious teachers and were helped to this toleration by the conviction that the national hatred would form a sufficiently secure barrier to the progress of the foreign religion.

Timothy Richard was convinced that the first requisite was to remove the prejudices, superstitions, and ignorance of the Chinese by getting them to know the truth above Western civilization and the Christian religion. To heal the body, to enlighten the mind, to save the soul was his three-fold aim. He was ever on the lookout for the good ground in which the seed could take root and grow. He was impressed with the character of the Chinese, finding in them a mental acuteness, a responsiveness to kindness, resoluteness, industriousness, and a wonderful staying-power and capacity.

From his study of the writings of that missionary model of all ages, Saint Paul, Richard learned that a missionary is one sent (Romans 10:15), that he is an ambassador of Christ (II Cor. 5:20), that he should spend and be spent for the souls of the people (II Cor. 12:15), that he is all things to all men (I Cor. 9:22), that he seeks not that which is profitable to himself, but to many (I Cor. 10:23), that he esteems it a privilege to preach the unsearchable riches of Christ (Eph. 3:8), that nothing matters to him, provided Christ be preached (Phil. 1:8), that God would have all men to be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth (I Tim. 2:4). The Pauline epistles further delineated the character of the missionary: a missioner does not wrangle, is mild to all men, is patient, preaches in season and out of season, shows himself an example of good works, in doctrine, and in integrity. Richard's encounters with the leaders, his attempts to synthesize Buddhism with Christianity, his missiological ideas, ideals, and achievements, exemplified his credence in, and acceptance of, Saint Paul's dicta for missionaries. He adapted his apologetics to China.

Timothy Richard not only clarified and emphasized these injunctions in his personal life, but he also exhorted the missionary societies to send to China only their choicest candidates, only those who gave promise of being able to make this same response to their missionary call. He urged that only those should be sent to the China missions who were prepared to face any eventuality in the Orient; who were ready to bear a universal toleration of the conditions incidental to the work; and who were capable of a laborious acquisition of a difficult language, a thorough understanding and appreciation of a new civilization, and a constant endeavor to adapt the presentation of the Faith to minds and hearts clouded by ignorance, prejudice, and superstition. Richard also urged that the mission candidates be trained in specializations for their apostolic work, and be initiated in every branch of knowledge, profane as well as sacred. Richard was convinced that a readjustment would have to be made in the near future in mission work in China, and that on many points it would be well for the Christian Church to be elastic in its adaptation to national and long-standing faiths and customs and not to be too insistent on introducing many Western forms which are not necessarily Christian.

It was his theory that the work of evangelizing the non-Christians required a thorough adaptation on the missionary's part and a complete development of his missionary virtues and abilities. He realized the vastness of the Christian task in evangelizing China long before the rest of his contemporaries, and, therefore, small measures were but "playing at Missions." He had not only to penetrate more fully into Chinese civilization and culture, but also to master and assimilate it, to recognize the validity of indigenous culture forms, and to build on them. The missionary had to go out of the routine to seek souls, to follow them up, to make occasions that would lead to their betterment or their conversion. And so, he established relations with China's leaders, hitherto unheard of in missionary circles. He lived ascetically and bought books and scientific apparatus with his economies, in order that he might be able to stimulate the leaders' interest in Christianity.

Identification with Christ and with the people are the two great ideals of a missionary. The practice of prayer, patience, courage, detachment, self-sacrifice, and fraternal charity identified this missionary from Wales with the Christ of the Gospel, Who came not to destroy but to fulfill, not to judge the world but to save it. Timothy Richard was known throughout China as a Christian benefactor because of his work in famine relief; he was known as a foreign friend of China because of his impartial attitude on international questions; he was noted for his tolerance in religious matters; but he never failed to grant a supreme place to Christ, Who was the Lord of his life. Richard was a leaven permeating the leaders of China; he was a light that all men could see; he was a lover of all men and there was no limit to his love. That love was not confined to China. His many contacts with leaders of other countries, his voluminous writings on many topics testify to his international interests. "The world was his parish."

Richard was successful in identifying himself with the people with whom he lived and worked and prayed. Personal encounter with Christ, that shared Presence, which flows from involvement in the problems of others when we sense that their problems are ours, succeeded in coming through. He masterminded educational, social, religious, and economic improvements; no person was too high an official or too low a peasant to receive the ministrations dictated by his kindly heart. Thus it was that his winsome personality and Christian spirit drew all sorts and conditions of men to him and to his Master. Li Ti-mo-tai became a household word in China. Though the political and religious leaders of China were the special object of his missionary labors, every Chinese knew he had Richard's affection and prayers. By enlightening the mandarins and literati Richard hoped to uplift the masses.

No one could accuse him of paternalism, of cultural imperialism, of subservience to England, or of deliberately helping to train an army of Chinese clerks but no leaders. He strove with unflagging zeal to build up local churches and develop local responsibility. He labored unceasingly to raise the standard of human life, according to the Christian vision of things. He made himself a witness to, and servant of, the people among whom he lived. He looked at the national life of the Chinese with consecrated awareness. He tried to make China see the effects of the relationship of Christianity with the modern world. He endeavored to make China realize that the evolutionary process was the movement of human life and love toward ultimate unification in Christ.

In preaching Christianity to non-Christians, Timothy Richard was a true ecumenist. He aimed not so much at turning them into something they were not, as at trying to bring them to their true selves. He stressed the universal salvific will of God and the help of His Grace. He strove to promote justice and truth; concord and collaboration; a spirit of brotherly love and Christian unity. He labored to improve mutual relations by avoiding expressions, judgments, and actions that would be detrimental to other creeds. He took the initiative in opening dialogue with representatives of other churches and faiths, so that both they and he would have a clearer and truer knowledge of each other's distinctive features and thus gain a greater appreciation of each. The motive of his studies in Buddhism was his desire to win the Buddhists by showing them they had borrowed a part of Christianity and should joyfully welcome a revelation of the whole.

He exhorted his co-workers, followers, and even his own Baptist Missionary Society to continue dialogue and collaboration with the members of other religions, and, with prudence and love, and in witness to the Christian faith and life, to recognize, preserve, and promote the good things, spiritual and moral, as well as the socio-cultural values found among these men. He laid great stress on the social side of the Gospel. One of his essays called, "The Social Benefits of Christianity," stresses how Christianity puts a high value on human life and its dignity; how it leads men to help the helpless, the sick and the poor; how it elevates woman and makes her man's equal in marriage and educational rights. He felt that this was the common foundation for greater co-operation between missionaries and Christians in the duties for the common good of humanity and in particular for the reform and regeneration of China.

His advice was not always heeded; his counsel was not always followed. He was severely criticized by his confreres, censured by his Society, misunderstood by his friends. His was a nature that did not easily tread in the beaten paths. He had a liberal and philanthropic mind. He was not interested in formal statements of dogma, for his mind was constantly open to new ideas. He was too big for any creed. There was not a touch of the sectarian about him, though he was always a loyal Baptist. And because he was a Baptist, he was able to be a towering prophetic figure, with a high vision of his mission to do something about the urgent needs of the human family. Baptists have no formal creed but rather an informal unity of belief founded upon Holy Scripture, with freedom of interpretation for the individual. The Bible is the first authority for faith; every person is himself competent to approach God directly. The Baptists lay great emphasis on the individual's response of faith and commitment to Christ. And with such latitude for action, Richard did not get involved with side issues and petty topics. He saw the great need of men and of nations and proclaimed God's message of salvation to the sin-stricken world, especially to the Chinese. He urged them to change and to live for the Lord of Life, of Light, and of Love is their Redeemer. He was both practical and imaginative, which made people consider him inconsistent and contradictory.

But Timothy Richard was a man far in advance of his times. He was the right man, but he lived in the wrong time. He was the missionary of thought and advanced ideas in an age of convention and conservatism. He was an apostle in tune with the spirit of reform and regeneration but not with the spirit of his own Society, and no one knew it better than he. He was an avant garde missionary. It is the fate of prophets to be misunderstood, but time has a way of vindicating such men, and most of Richard's missionary principles and methods are now the common, accepted, and required stock of Christian foreign missions today.

He was far-sighted and big-hearted. His constant obsession was to set up the Kingdom of Heaven here and now. He considered the problem to be how to influence and guide the mind of four hundred million. This was his great missionary goal--the present redemption of these four hundred million Chinese from their manifold bondages--political, social, economic, and religious; the emancipation of the human mind from ignorance; and a possession of a fuller life in every way. It was a practical rather than a theoretical or dogmatic gospel that he advocated. He used Christian literature as a means of propaganda. He proposed universities for each of China's eighteen provinces. The end aimed at would result in the lessening of the chance of war, of massacres and riots, of the starvation of millions from flood and famine. The Kingdom of Heaven was to make the world better, now.

He was the "Bridge-Builder between East and West." He interpreted the best thought of each to the other, and changed a dichotomized point of view to one of mutual understanding. Stubbornly and long did China believe that she had nothing to learn from the Western "barbarians," but the combined influence of war, commerce, and Christianity produced a great change and the beginning of a new China. The West likewise had things to learn from the Chinese--organization, co-operation in organization, and the qualifications of those who govern or guide peoples. Timothy Richard took the best of the East and showed it to the West; people in the West thought better of the East because of him. But Richard the man was greater than his work, and, though men might differ as to some of his schemes, they never failed to see in him a man of God. No one could be in his presence without going away a better man.

This was the missionary about whom Kenneth Scott Latourette wrote, "Timothy Richard was one of the greatest missionaries whom any branch of the Church, whether Roman Catholic, Russian Orthodox, or Protestant, has ever sent to China." That he loved the Chinese for whom and with whom he had lived and worked for almost half a century can be seen in the words of a hymn, of which a framed copy hung on the wall of his room:

GOD SAVE THE PEOPLE

When wilt Thou save the people? / O God of Mercy, when?
The people, Lord, the people / Not thrones and crowns, but men;
God save the people; Thine they are, / Thy children, as Thine angels fair;
From vice, oppression and despair, / God save the people!

GLOSSARY

Bodhisattva--A saintly Buddhist of the Mahayana School who postpones going to Nirvana in order to help others in the world.

Buddha--"The Enlightened One" of India, Prince Gautama or his images.

Chinese Recorder--a monthly periodical that started in 1869 as a joint literary project by Christian missionaries of various religious denominations in North China. Each issue contained articles of missionary significance, book reviews, correspondence, and personal items concerning the missionaries. Half of the members of the editorial board changed yearly. The first four volumes of the Recorder were published by Rozario, Marcal and Company in Foochow; from 1874, the Recorder was published by the American Presbyterian Mission Press, Shanghai.

Chefoo Convention--an agreement signed on 13 September 1876 by Thomas F. Wade for Great Britain and Li Hung-chang for China, in settlement of an incident on the Burma frontier in which a British consular officer, Augustus Margary, had been killed. It safeguarded the trade across that route and opened more ports to foreign residence. The Convention was a substantial supplement to Britain's treaties of 1842, 1858, and 1860, in that it secured practically all the concessions the British Minister had been demanding for over two years.

Christian Literature Society for China--name given to the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge among the Chinese. The staff of contributors was headed by Timothy Richard, who served as General Secretary of the Society from

1891 to 1916. The catalogue of publications grew from three to nearly eight hundred during his stewardship. The Revs. Gilbert Walshe, Donald MacGillivray, W. A. Cornaby, Evan Morgan, Moir Duncan, W. Hopkin Rees, Isaac Mason, Young J. Allen, and Miss Hilda Bowser were released by their respective missionary Societies to give their full time to this literary project. Hu Shih later said that this "Society did much in opening China and bringing about the great revolution in thought." From 1888-1895, the yearly reports of the Society were printed at Noronha and Sons, 12 Canton Road, Shanghai; after 1896, the yearly reports were printed at The Shanghai Mercury Office, Shanghai.

Confucius--the Latin form of the name Kung Fu-tsu (351-479 B.C.), the great philosopher of China's Chou Dynasty period.

Civil Service examinations--the traditional system and the only means of recruiting government officials. These examinations were held at stated intervals and lead to degrees. The system was the agent by which Confucianism monopolized scholarship, and by which scholarship, in turn, monopolized politics.

Degrees--There were three major degrees; only the successful candidates in the lowest of the three could sit for the second, and only those who had passed the second could enroll for the third. For each degree many more were examined than could be passed. When the government was short of funds some degrees could be purchased, but no such prestige was attached to degrees acquired in this fashion as to those awarded through competitive channels. The first degree to be acquired was hsiu-tsai (秀才), meaning "Flowering talent" (comparable to our bachelor's). The second degree was chu-jen (舉人), meaning "a recommended man." The highest degree was the chin-shih (進士), "a presented scholar."

Gautama Siddhartha (563-483 B.C.)--The prince later called Buddha, founder of the religion, Buddhism.

Hinayana Buddhism--"The Lesser Vehicle": a major branch of Buddhism, which stresses that the individual can become enlightened and achieve Nirvana only through his own efforts.

Mahayana Buddhism--"The Great Vehicle": a major school of Indian Buddhism. Its doctrines were those of "one soul immanent for good in all the universe, of one Divine helper of men, of individual immortality and growth in the likeness of God, of the importance of faith in God to produce good works, and of the willingness of the best spirits to make sacrifices to save others."

Nien Rebellion (1851-1868)--nien ("bands"), secret-society bandit gangs whose genealogy can be traced back to the White Lotus Society in the late eighteenth century. They operated in the area west of the Grand Canal between the Huai and Yellow rivers in the southern part of the North China plain. Nien and Taiping forces co-operated on many occasions.

Peking--"Northern capital" in Chinese; China's present capital.

Review of the Times (Wan Kuo Kung Pao)--a monthly edited by Young J. Allen and Ts'ai Erh-kang, the Chinese associate of Timothy Richard. It was in essence a Reform magazine. The Mikado of Japan was a subscriber to the Review.

Shih Pao--a Chinese daily in Tientsin published by Jardine, Matheson and Sons. From 1890-91 it was edited by Timothy Richard. Through this medium, Richard was able to sow his ideas all over the Empire. It was the beginning of the systematic and daily publication of the leading ideas of Christendom among the Chinese people at large.

Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge among the Chinese--was organized in 1887 by Alexander Williamson as a help in the evangelization of China. It was backed in Glasgow, Scotland, by the Book and Tract Society of China. When Dr. Williamson died on 28 August, 1890, his place was temporarily taken by the Rev. W. Muirhead. In 1891, the Rev. Timothy Richard was appointed Secretary of the Society for a term of three years. His term was renewed and he held the post for twenty-five consecutive years.

The members were a non-sectarian society within the missionary body. Each of them was supported by his own Mission Board and was permitted to give his whole time to the tasks of the Society. In 1906, the Society's name was changed to "The Christian Literature Society for China."

sutra--"Thread," or Buddhist parable in India.

tael--A Chinese money of account. One tael was the equivalent of 0.742 Gold Dollar and 3.000 Pound Sterling Shilling; 1,000 taels was equal to £150.

Taiping--"Great Peace": the name given the rebellion (1850-65) against the Manchus and Westerners in China. It was started by Hung Hsiu-ch'uan among the discontented peasants of Kwangsi Province. It was finally suppressed by mixed Army forces under Tseng Kuo-fan, Li Hung-chang, and Major Charles Gordon of the British Army. Directly and indirectly, the rebellion cost the lives of about twenty million Chinese. Nine provinces were devastated. The Manchu dynasty was bankrupted by the cost of suppressing it. Since the Taiping leaders professed to be Christians, Chinese officials came to look upon Christianity as a loathsome disease. It was undoubtedly, one of the most destructive rebellions of all times.

tao (道)--"The Way"; older then, but the basis of Taoism. Early Taoist scholars taught that the Tao is the governing principle in the universe, that the way of the universe in inaction, that the Tao cannot be fully known, but that it is against human striving for high character and for an ordered society.

Taoism (道教)--a school of thought which arose in the Chou era, in direct opposition to Confucianism. Its classic formulation was in the Tao Te Ching which was generally believed to have been written by Lao Tzu, supposedly an older contemporary of Confucius. However, scholars now think that the Tao Te Ching was probably of much later composition and that Lao Tzu may never have lived. Out of primitive Taoism emerged a religion which persisted, but as a waning force, into the twentieth century.

tao-tai (道尹)--local prefect or ruler.

Treaties of 1858-1860--these treaties which China was constrained to accept as a result of the foreign aggression of 1856-60 compromised the independence of the Empire and undermined its inherited culture. In addition to the opening of new ports to foreign residence and commerce, a new schedule of tariffs, elaborated regulations for extraterritoriality, and other such features, freedom for the propagation of the Christian religion, previously subject solely to Chinese permission, was written into the treaties. Christians, both foreigners and Chinese, were guaranteed freedom to practice their faith and liberty to proselytize among the Chinese. So far as their religion was concerned, Chinese Christians were thereby removed from the jurisdiction of their government and were placed under the protection of the foreign powers.

The Chinese text of the French treaty--which the Chinese said was not official but upon which the French insisted--gave missionaries the right to rent and own land outside the treaty ports. The non-Chinese character of Christianity and the association with foreign imperialism were this emphasized--a circumstance which was a chronic source of hostility.

The treaty structure capped by the Treaty of Tientsin (1858) and the Peking Conventions (1860) remained substantially unaltered for nearly sixty years and formed the legal basis for China's foreign relations.

Tsungli Yamen--the most striking institutional innovation of the Restoration period. It was a formal office, established on January 20, 1861, at the suggestion of Prince Kung, to handle foreign affairs. The Foreign Office, or Tsungli Yamen, was the one place in the government where able officials were found. Such men as Tseng Kuo-fan, Li Hung-chang, and Chang Chih-tung helped to make China's foreign policy as well as to encourage internal reforms.

APPENDIX A

CHRONOLOGICAL OUTLINE OF TIMOTHY RICHARD'S LIFE

1845	Birth--Ffaldybrenin, Carmarthenshire, Wales.
1859	Baptism in River Caio.
1865-1869	Haverfordwest Theological College.
1869	Sailed for China (November 17).
1870	Arrived in Shanghai (February 12) in Chefoo (February 27)
1871	Trip to Manchuria and Korea.
1872	Attempted to settle in Ninghai; then Lai Yang, returned to Chefoo.
1873	First of several visits to Chinanfu.
1875	Settled in Chingchowfu, Shantung. Intercourse with Mohammedans Religious Leaders Taoists Hermits Preparation of catechism and hymn book. Baptism of first converts outside the West Gate of Chingchowfu.
1876-1877	Famine Relief in Shantung.
1877-1878	Famine Relief in Shansi. Headquarters in Taiyuanfu, capital of Shansi.
1878	Marriage to Mary Martin, a Scotch Presbyterian (October). Settled in Taiyuanfu.
1880	Visit to Peking to memorialize throne on Russia-China hostilities. Interview with Li Hung-chang in Tientsin.

1881-1884 Monthly illustrated lectures to officials and scholars.

1881: Interviews with Tso Tsung-t'ang, Viceroy of Shensi and Kansu.
Chang Chih-tung, Governor of Shansi.
Visit to Buddhist sacred mountain Wu T'ai Shan.
Serious illness in Chinanfu.
Return to Chingchowfu to take care of mission during furlough of Alfred Jones.

1884: Visit to Peking.
Interview with Sir Harry Parkes regarding status of missionaries.
Talks with Sir Robert Hart and exchange of ideas for reforms for China.
Establishment of an Evangelical Alliance.

1885-1886 First Furlough.
Educational Scheme for China presented to the B.M.S.
Suggestions for improved mission methods presented to B.M.S.

1886 Returned to China.
Left Shansi due to disagreements with colleagues.
Moved to Peking.
Literary Work--pamphlet on "Modern Education."
Friendship with Marquis Tseng (son of Tseng Kuo-fan).
Studies on Chinese Buddhism and Lamaism.

1887 First Missionary Conference in Shanghai (for representatives of all missions).

1888 Visit to Japan to study mission methods.

1889 Moved with family to Tientsin.
Famine Relief in Shantung.
Serious illness--Typhus Fever in Chingchowfu.
B.M.S. refused to accept his proposals for missions.

1890 Attended Second General Missionary Conference in Shanghai--read a paper on "The Relation of Christian Missions to the Chinese Government."
Became editor of the Shih Pao, at invitation of Li Hung-chang.

1891 Became Secretary of Christian Literature Society in Shanghai.
Family moved to Shanghai.
Translation work.
Educational work for Shanghai.

1894 Translation of Mackenzie's *History of the Nineteenth Century*.
Three interviews with Chang Chih-tung, now Viceroy of Nanking.
Interview with Chang Yin-huan, First Peace Envoy to Japan.

1895 To Peking.
Interviews with Li Hung-chang, Prime Minister Weng T'ung-ho, Prince Kung, Tsungli Yamen members, other officials.
Presentation of Mission Memorial to the Throne.
First Meeting with K'ang Yu-wei (October 17).
Meetings and discussion with Reform Society members.
Reform Scheme presented to Prime Minister and approved by Emperor.
Visit to Buddhist Centre, T'ien T'ai Mountain.

1896 Last interview with Li Hung-chang.
Prime Minister Weng T'ung-ho makes an unprecendented call on Timothy Richard.

1896-1897 Second Furlough, fellow ship passenger Li Hung-chang going to Russia for coronation of the Czar.
India, Marseilles, Paris, London.
Appeals to Societies in the interest of Peace, Federation of Nations, etc.
Publication of booklet for use of young statesmen.

1898 Return to China via Canada and the United States.
Emperor Kuang Hsu's Reform Edicts (June).
Failure to Reform Movement; coup d'etat of Empress Tzu Hsi (September).
Emperor's Decree of Abdication.

1899	To Peking for Government approval of educational scheme for China. Interviews with Sir Robert Hart. Contact with Jung Lu, and other officials. Li Hung-chang appointed Viceroy of Canton. Interview with Kang Yi.
1900	To New York for Ecumenical Conference. Read paper on "The Need and Value of Literary Work for Missions." Efforts to save Christians from Boxers by personal appeals in Boston, Washington, D.C., New York. Returned to China via Japan. Boxer Uprising. Received Honorary D.D. degree from Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia.
1901	Settled troubles in Shansi; foundation of Shansi University. Received honorary Litt.D. degree by Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island.
1902	Chancellor of Shansi University. Appointed by Imperial Edict representative of Protestant missions.
1900-1902	Scheme for Chinese Education in Shanghai.
1903	Visit to Japan to secure textbooks for Shansi University. Interviews with Baron Kikuchi, Prince Konoye. Death of Mrs. Richard. Received rank of Mandarin with a Red button (of the highest grade).
1904	Became Secretary of the International Red Cross Society in Shanghai. To Peking: interviews with Chow Fu, Jung Lu, Prince Su, Lu Ch'uan-lin.
1905	Returned to England on furlough. Delegate to World-Baptist Conference in London. Delegate to Lucerne Peace Conference where he proposed the Federation Scheme.

1906	Formation of China Emergency Committee.
1907	Third Missionary Conference at Shanghai (May) to commemorate the coming to China of first Protestant missionary, Robert Morrison of the L.M.S. Decorated by the Chinese Government with the Double Dragon, 2nd order, 2nd grade.
1908	Visit to Korea, Japan; talks with Prince Ito.
1910	Delegate to the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh. Handed over Shansi University to Chinese authorities, as the ten years' agreement had expired.
1911	Outbreak of Revolution in China (October 10).
1912	Visit to Chingchowfu to attend first United Conference of the English Baptist Mission.
1913	Visit to Taoist center at Lao Shan; translated Mission to Heaven.
1914	Visit to Changsha in Hunan. Second marriage--to Dr. Ethel Tribe, at Yokohama (August 14).
1915	Illness. Visit to Java. Resignation as Secretary of the C.L.S.
1916	Returned to England. To Aberystwyth for Honorary LL.D. degree from the University of Wales.
1919	Death--April 17, in London. Burial in Golders Green, Northwest London.

APPENDIX B

HIGHER MISSIONARIES FOR CHINA[1]

I Candidates' Questions

II Referees' Questions

III Curriculum of Study at Home

IV Curriculum of Study in China

V Motives of Candidates

How to get a Higher Class of Missionaries for China: Have four means of estimating their worth and fitting them for service.

I Questions put to the candidate--such as are now put by the Committee to them.

To these Mr. Jones would suggest adding:

1. Did you travel abroad? If so, where?
2. What salary had you before?
3. What part of your character do you consider strongest? What weakest?
4. What branch of Church History did you study most?

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[1] Unpublished paper sent to Alfred Baynes at the Baptist Missionary Society, London, 16 July, 1885, by Timothy Richard in London, Paper now in the B.M.S. Archives, 93 Gloucester Place, London, W.1.

5. What profession or occupation were your father and near relatives in?

I would suggest only two additions:

1. What was your order or place in class at each of the examinations, including the entrance exam at your school or college up to date?

2. What are your favorite studies outside the curriculum?

II Questions for Referees to Answer about Candidates
(Full marks for each question being 100)

1. Spirituality and devotion

2. Intelligence

3. Knowledge

4. Self-Sacrifice

5. Activity and Zeal

6. Steadiness

7. Discretion and Tact

8. Agreeable Manners

9. Sweetness of temper and disposition

10. Power to lead others

11. Force of character

12. Reckoning the average ability and character of home ministers at 100 what would you put the candidate's at?

13. Add any remarks deemed desirable.

III Examination

		marks		
1.	Mathematics	500		
	Physics	500		
	Chemistry	500		
	Biology	500		
	Psychology	500		
			TOTAL: 2500	
2.	Mineralogy and Geology	500		
	Zoology and Botany	500		
	Astronomy and Electricity	500		
	Engineering and Mining	500		
	Medicine	500	TOTAL: 2500	
				5,000
3.	Education	500		
	Jurisprudence	500		
	Political Economy	500		
	Comparative Literature	500		
	Comparative Institutions	500		
	Comparative Reformations	500		
	Comparative Religions	500	TOTAL: 3500	
				8,500

All those in Class 3 to be treated as far as possible and profitable, comparatively and historically.

4.	German Language	500		
	French Language	500	TOTAL: 1000	
5.	History of Asia	500		
	History of Europe	500		
	History of Africa	250		
	History of America	250		
			TOTAL: 1500	
				11,000

SUM UP

Questions to Candidates--total marks ______________

Questions to Referees--total marks ______________

Questions at Examination--total marks ____________

GRAND TOTAL ______________

IV **Subjects for Study during the First Three Years in China, besides the Chinese Language:**

1. **Chinese subjects**
    - Geography and History
    - Government
    - Religions (State and Non-Conformist)
    - Education
    - Literature
    - Philosophy

2. **World-wide subjects**
    - Religions of the world
    - Education of the world
    - International Law
    - Trade and Industries of the World
    - Statistics--Methodology
    - Philosophy of History
    - The influence of inventions on the development of nations.

3. **Missions**
    - History of Christian Missions
    - History of Non-Christian Missions
    - Various mission methods compared
    - How Christianity is to bless all departments of government--national and international.

V **Motives**

1. **Means of Usefulness**

    (a) At home, civil service and business men get from 200 to 2,000 a year;

    (b) Ministers get from 150 to 1,500 a year and great facilities for the education of their children;

(c) Missionaries (married) get £270--£330 (and the greatest difficulty in educating their children);

Missionaries (bachelors) get £180 a year;

(d) Heretofore, allowances have been granted on a uniform scale to all missionaries alike.

Henceforth, they should be granted according to positions occupied as chief in charge of county, prefect, or province.

These positions should be elective by the missionaries in the field, and confirmed by the committee at home.

Allowances for chief leaders should be at least equal to leaders at home.

These matters must be taken into account as I fear they have, and justly too, much to do in checking the highest offers for the mission field.

Without controversy, the mission field of China requires your best men. These less competent can well hold the forte at home.

2. Fame, In striving to become

the greatest explorers;
the greatest philanthropists and peacemakers;
the greatest scholars and authorities;
the greatest promoters of education;
the greatest statesmen and advisers to high rulers;
the greatest missionaries of the day.

At home, there is comparatively little scope more than to become the successful minister of a prosperous church.

In China, the whole land is still virgin before us with its marvellous possibilities.

Still, the odium attached to becoming missionaries is no small counterweight in China.

3. Gratitude to God This may be exemplified:

In glad service for the salvation of men;
In self-denial: giving more than receiving;
In becoming teachers of apostles for China;
In becoming the founders of churches--
  originating spiritual life at the risk
  of persecution;
In becoming reformers--originating spiritual
  life in nations even at the risk of
  rebellion and cruel death;
In surpassing what has ever been done to
  bless mankind in every age.

China at present is more prepared than any other country for the reception of Christianity in its highest teaching. Who are willing? and able? and worthy? to undertake the sacred work?

Behold I give you power to tread on serpents and scorpions and over all the power of the enemy and nothing shall by any means hurt you. Notwithstanding, in this rejoice, not that spirits are subject to you, but rather rejoice because your names are written in heaven.

APPENDIX C

REGULATIONS FOR A BETTER UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT AND CHRISTIAN MISSIONS[1]

In 1901, after he had been appointed the representative of non-Catholic Missions in China by Imperial edict, Timothy Richard, in collaboration with Roman Catholic Bishop Favier, drew up the following regulations. After the Bishop's sudden death Richard continued working on them. They were approved by Chow Fu, Viceroy of Nanking, and personally presented to the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Westminster, by Richard on his return to London in 1905.

1. That if any missionary should circulate literature showing disrespect to the religions of China, he should be removed.

2. That if any mandarin promoted the circulation of literature derogatory to the Christian religion, he should be removed.

3. That if any missionary interfered with the lawsuits of Chinese subjects, he should be removed.

4. That if any mandarin made any difference in the treatment of Christians and non-Christians, he was to be removed.

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[1] Richard, Forty-five Years, p. 317.

5. That the head of each Mission should send an annual report to the Governor of his province, stating the number of chapels, schools, colleges, hospitals, literary work or philanthropic work that his Mission has engaged in.

6. That the Governor should annually invite three of the leaders of Missions in his province to confer with him as to how their work could be rendered more useful.

7. That the Governor or Viceroy should report on Missions once every three years to the Central Government, so that it may be well informed and not liable to be misled by imperfect reports circulated by the ignorant or mischievous.

On hearing these proposed rules, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Westminster said:

> If these regulations had been observed, we should not have had to mourn over the massacre of our missionaries. If you will let me have a copy, I will forward it to the Pope myself, and recommend that they be adopted for the future in China.[1]

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[1] Richard, Forty-five Years, p. 317.

APPENDIX D

A FEW GENERAL REMARKS ON MISSIONS AND MISSIONARIES[1]

In the opinion of the leading statesmen in China the time is fully come, and in the opinion of the leading missionaries Christian education is one of the most effectual methods of evangelizing China. Now for a few general remarks:

(1) In advocating the sending of more foreign missionaries I am far from advocating a reckless flooding of China with foreigners. No manly nation will endure it. Again it is possible that in advocating the giving up of the *too much* employment of Chinese in mission work there is danger of falling into the greater error of engaging *foreigners* to do the same work which they still do less efficiently and at least eight times more expensively. *Foreigners should be reserved to do what the Chinese cannot do, never to do what Chinese Pastors can do much better. What we want is the quickest*

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[1] Unpublished letter to Alfred Henry Baynes, London, 12 March 1888 from Timothy Richard, Peking. (Italics are all Richard's).

and most efficient way of training native missionaries.

(2) It is not well to sacrifice majorities to individuals, nor individuals to majorities. Neither is it necessary. Inventions, discoveries, special excellencies are the product of individualism. The careful study of Mission principles and methods, of all times and of all lands, and even of all religions, and then, freedom to adopt the best, will give the majorities infinitely sounder judgments than they have now. It will give the immense difference between skilled and unskilled labor.

(3) In Peking, two high officials who would not return the call of the ambassadors of England or Germany, have, within the past ten days returned the call of a missionary. This shows the ripeness of the mandarins.

(4) An endeavor to co-operate with the Chinese is of the utmost importance wherever we can. The admonition to commend ourselves to the conscience of every man, to seek the worthy, and to commit our message to faithful men who shall be able to teach others also, cannot be too persistently kept in view.

(5) Finally, consider what good work you have done in China and let your future be in harmony with the past.

None of our churches could be indifferent to the present crisis if they only knew that this work among the highest leaders is the crowning point of their noble service of the past. It is an endeavor to present the Chinese with a band of enlightened Chinamen who shall be the statesmen, the reformers, philosophers, educationists, philanthropists, pastors, teachers, and evangelists; to be in fact what the greatest characters in Scripture were from the great Lawgiver downwards. These will be able to tell their own countrymen far better than we can that Christianity has the promise of the Life that now is as well as that which is to come, which some missionaries forget to teach, and that after the hundred-fold here with persecutions there is the eternal life hereafter which their own sages did not teach them.

We must not forget the teaching of the Sacred Volume that KNOWLEDGE shall be the STABILITY of Christ's Kingdom. Remember too, that knowledge from purely foreign sources with foreign civilization they have rejected--witness the withdrawal of the educational mission to America--knowledge added to Chinese civilization is still on a heathen basis.

What we therefore need now and really seek is to have the Chinese in marriage. This is not a mere figure of speech. The Chinese are ready to meet us halfway. What we ask from the Parent Society is a suitable dowry of men and methods for independent life. And may God's blessing rest on the union!

APPENDIX E

THE CHINA MISSION HAND-BOOK[1]

The need of a Mission Hand-Book for China, which shall be both a record of past progress and a suggestive stimulus to future effort, has been felt by many. It is now proposed to prepare such a hand-book and have it ready at the beginning of 1895, midway between our great Decennial Conferences.

The general outlines of the hand-book will be as follows:

I A sketch of the leading features in the spread of the great religions of the world.

II A sketch of the leading features in the history of the Christian missions in the world, especially in China.

III The strength and weakness of the various non-Christian religions in China.

IV Other matters of general interest to missionaries.

V Sketch reports of various missions covering, as in India, the following:

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[1] This is the prospectus for the Mission Hand-Book which was sent to Alfred Henry Baynes at the B.M.S. in London, 16 May 1894, from Timothy Richard in Shanghai. The Hand-Book was not completed until 1896.

1. Mission work among the Masses
    - a) Evangelistic in streets and chapels,
    - b) Evangelistic in country tours,
    - c) Evangelistic at fairs,
    - d) House to house visitation,
    - e) Interviews with devout non-Christian leaders,
    - f) Lectures to mandarins, school-masters, etc.

2. Mission Work Among Native Christians
    - a) Preaching and pastoral oversight,
    - b) Sunday schools,
    - c) Meetings for united prayer,
    - d) Christian Endeavor,
    - e) Philanthropic work of the Church for the aged, blind, deaf, dumb, poor, oppressed, famines, etc.,
    - f) Institutions for training mission agents,
    - g) Self-support--wages for teachers, pastors, native assistants.

3. Mission Work Among the Children
    - a) Boys' Schools--day and boarding
    - b) Girls' Schools--day and boarding

4. Mission Work Among Young Men
    - a) Bible classes
    - b) Higher education in schools and colleges
    - c) Lectures to students
    - d) Industrial and commercial schools
    - e) Y.M.C.A.

5. Mission Work Among Women
    - a) Evangelistic meetings
    - b) Training classes
    - c) Industrial classes
    - d) Higher education

6. Mission Work Among the Sick
    - a) Hospitals
    - b) Dispensaries
    - c) Visits to the sick at home
    - d) Preaching to and comforting the sick
    - e) Opium refuges
    - f) Medical students

7. Mission Work by Christian Literature
   - a) Scriptures
   - b) Other Christian books, tracts, magazines
   - c) Depots
   - d) Colporteurs
   - e) Reading rooms and circulating libraries
   - f) Translators and authors, foreign and native

8. Present Problems and Outlook

9. Any other remarks

VI Statistics--evangelistic, educational, medical and literary

VII A series of maps to illustrate the distribution of mission forces.

VIII Bibliography--English and Chinese

IX Statistical summary

X Index

Feeling persuaded that the leading missionaries everywhere will readily co-operate with us we take the liberty of asking you if you will be so kind as to furnish a sketch report of the leading features of your mission in China from the beginning till now. . . . Put dates of the commencement or new departure of any branch of work. For convenience of easy comparison we suggest that the various departments of missionary work in each mission be treated in the order given under Part V, numbering 1, 2, 3, etc. Very few missions have work in all departments. Could you kindly arrange for filling up the enclosed statistical schedules with statistics for 1893, or the very latest you have, with date affixed, and for marking of the stations on the map.

. . . Special writers will be asked to contribute some of the articles. If each brother will exert himself to give us an early report in the order suggested we shall do our utmost to classify and publish at the earliest opportunity, so that each mission may have the benefit of the history and statistics of the others.

Any suggestions that would make the hand-book more generally useful will be most thankfully received, as we are anxious to make it the most perfect of its kind in any mission field.

Yours faithfully,

Rev. Timothy Richard, Quinsan Road, Shanghai.
Rev. G. F. Finch, Mission Press, Shanghai.
Rev. W. E. Bonnell, 10 Woosung Road, Shanghai.
Rev. W. P. Bentley, Miller Road, Shanghai.
Rev. G. McIntosh, Mission Press, Shanghai.

APPENDIX F

SYNOPSIS OF THE MISSION MEMORIAL PRESENTED TO THE THRONE BY TIMOTHY RICHARD AND DR. WHERRY, PEKING, NOVEMBER 14, 1895.[1]

Although the Chinese Government had allowed freedom to the Confucian, Buddhist, Taoist, and Mohammedan religions for a thousand years, it had, since the days of Emperor Yung Ching (1725-36), continually persecuted the Christians, even after treaties, from 1842 onwards, had been made in which protection of Christians was promised. The Government had republished official reports in which the Christians were accused of all manner of horrible practices. The officials and scholars, finding that these books were published with the consent of the highest Viceroys in the land, naturally believed them to be true, and encouraged the common people in persecutions and riots, which resulted in the burning of chapels, killing of native Christians, and even of foreign missionaries. The Chinese did not know that wicked persons were not permitted to enter the Church. Christianity benefited all nations. Not only was Western civilization indebted to the Christian Church, but the inhabitants of all continents and islands of the sea had been uplifted by it. The adoption of Western civilization in Japan was largely due to missionary influences.

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[1] Timothy Richard, Forty-five Years in China, pp. 250-51.

Even in China missionaries had worked for the good of the people. They had translated the sacred books of the West, together with histories and books of science, into Chinese, and had translated the sacred books and histories of China into Western languages. They had assisted in famine relief in Shantung, Shansi, Kiangsu, and Manchuria. Though many had died from famine fever, others had come to carry on the good work. They had given advice how China could be saved from poverty, weakness, famine and war, and become one of the great nations of the earth. What missionaries desired was that the Chinese Government should learn from God and should show benevolence to all. If the Government did not protest good men who had come to help China, then it was to be feared that their own nationals would enter to protect them. Unless Christians were let alone to carry on their good works, international troubles would arise.

We therefore pray that an edict be issued granting these three requests.

APPENDIX G

PROPOSED NEW MISSION METHODS[1]

When Timothy Richard assumed the secretaryship of the C.L.S. in 1891 the Society Report publicized his plan of campaign as follows:

> The generosity of the foreign communities in China and at home has repeatedly been shown in response to appeals for famine relief; but when through ignorance many of the preventable causes of these famines are not removed, there is a growing feeling that the best way of helping China is to give such kind of enlightenment as this Society attempts to give. We cannot even _dream_ of establishing modern schools throughout the Empire; this will be the province of the Chinese Government after it somewhat understands its own needs and how to meet them. Nor do we intend to reach all the mandarins in the Empire. Much less can we reach every one of the _literati_, who plan such an important part in the government

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[1] Timothy Richard, _Forty-five Years_, pp. 220-21.

of China. Still, the chief mandarins, together with the High Examiners, Educational Inspectors of counties, Professors of colleges, and a small percentage of the literati, with some of the ladies and children of their families, might be reached. (This number was estimated at 44,036.)

Proposed Methods

1. To provide periodicals of a high-class order. In these there will be some subjects treated systematically, somewhat after the manner of Cassell's Popular Educator. Dr. Allen will be Editor of these.

2. To provide a series of books and pamphlets to show the bearing of educational and religious development in industries and trade and in every department of national progress.

3. To give prizes for the best papers by the Chinese on various subjects connected with the enlightenment and progress of the nation.

4. To stimulate towards other means for the enlightenment of China, such as lectures, museum, reading-rooms, etc., by supplying them with useful knowledge on the great value of these.

5. To establish depots where our publications will be on sale at each examination centre (provincial capitals).

6. To secure the cooperation of the Chinese in all efforts and to get them to form societies for the advancement of learning.

7. To have advertisements of our Society's aims and purposes put out at every examination. As the best schoolmasters of every distant village attend these examinations, we hope in this way to make our influence felt in every nook and corner of the Empire.

APPENDIX H

NEED FOR SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF MISSION METHODS[1]

There is the need of the scientific study of the laws of mission success, and the need of a new kind of statistics never drawn up in the reports of missions before, viz., a quantitative table of statistics of the leading methods known in the world with their results, instead of following opinion--often blind--as must be the rule now without these statistics. This careful study would revolutionise our mission methods and make them advance in efficiency over the old ones with the same astonishing rapidity as we witness in so many other departments of modern activity.

I can only briefly state some of the methods which seem necessary, viz.:---

1. Not merely prayer for the Holy Spirit, but also a mastery of the laws which God has fixed for the obtaining of it and for getting

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[1] Timothy Richard, "Of More Value than a Thousand Missionaries," Chinese Recorder, Vol. XXXIV, No. 1 (January, 1903), pp. 8-9.

answers to prayers.

2. Not merely elementary education, but also the highest education, for primary and secondary education will then take care of themselves.
3. Not merely extension of the Press, but also the circulation of the cream of the literature in the world.
4. Not merely mastery of the best modern Christian books, but also mastery of the latest books on comparative religion and their influence on the progress of the human race.
5. Not merely evangelisation of any of the lower classes, but also the evangelization and organization of the leaders of every class; the rest will follow like sheep. The conversion of one leader is often potentially the conversion of a thousand followers as well.
6. Not merely friendly conferences and united meetings with all Christian denominations, but also a genuine recognition of the fact that God gives His Spirit to all denominations without partiality, and therefore a determination to divide the field and divide

the work without overlapping, and to have far more co-operation than at present exists in educational, medical, and other work.

7. Not merely fresh organization on a basis of a real unity of the Christian church, but also it should be on parallel lines and coincide with that of the Chinese government, i.e., our chief centres where their chief centres are, and our ecclesiastical division the same as theirs--county for county, prefect for prefect, and province for province. Above all, there should be full understanding and co-operation with Chinese authorities and gentry.

8. Not merely study of the value and welfare of the soul is relation to God, but also the study of the part man should take in political economy and social problems generally.

9. Not merely knowledge of how to influence men individually, but also how to guide them collectively, as all leaders of men must or fail.

10. Not merely intense activity and unwearied labour, but also the knowledge of the chief

springs of action in individuals and in nations. Some knowledge must precede every conversion, some renaissance before every reform. The measure of harvest reaped is in proportion to the seed properly sown, otherwise it may be wasted on the roadside or among thorns.

11. Not merely effort to get the best textbooks studied in China, but also translated and studied in all lands, then the next generation will be friendly, because swayed by the same universal and best ideas which man has discovered and God has revealed.

12. Not merely prayer that the kingdom of God may come and His will be done on earth as it is done in heaven, but also an active part in the federation of the world to the infinite good of all, on friendly instead of military basis, and the preparation of China for that step.

APPENDIX I

TIMOTHY RICHARD'S FLYING MACHINE

Timothy Richard sometimes resorted to unusual measures to help his people as the following, in his own words, will prove:

A feature of North China is the loess which covers the surface from hundreds to thousands of feet in depth. The heavy rains have cut wide and deep gullies in the loess, which in course of time have developed into impassable ravines, making progress across country well-nigh impossible. In considering better means of communication, I saw the great difficulties, on account of these deep ravines, in the way of railway engineering, and I thought that flying machines, if they could be invented, would be the best means of communication, and would be a great boon to the country. I therefore spent some time in studying the flight of birds and insects, noting the proportions between the weight of their bodies and the areas of their wings, and from the musical note of certain insects' flight, I calculated the number of vibrations made per minute. I never had any doubt of the possibility of men being able to invent flying machines. As Chinese were more interested in kite-flying than any other nation, I thought it possible that some genius among them might invent a flying machine. This was the beginning of my interest in aircraft, which has not flagged till this hour; but the progress of the new science has gone beyond my dreams.[1]

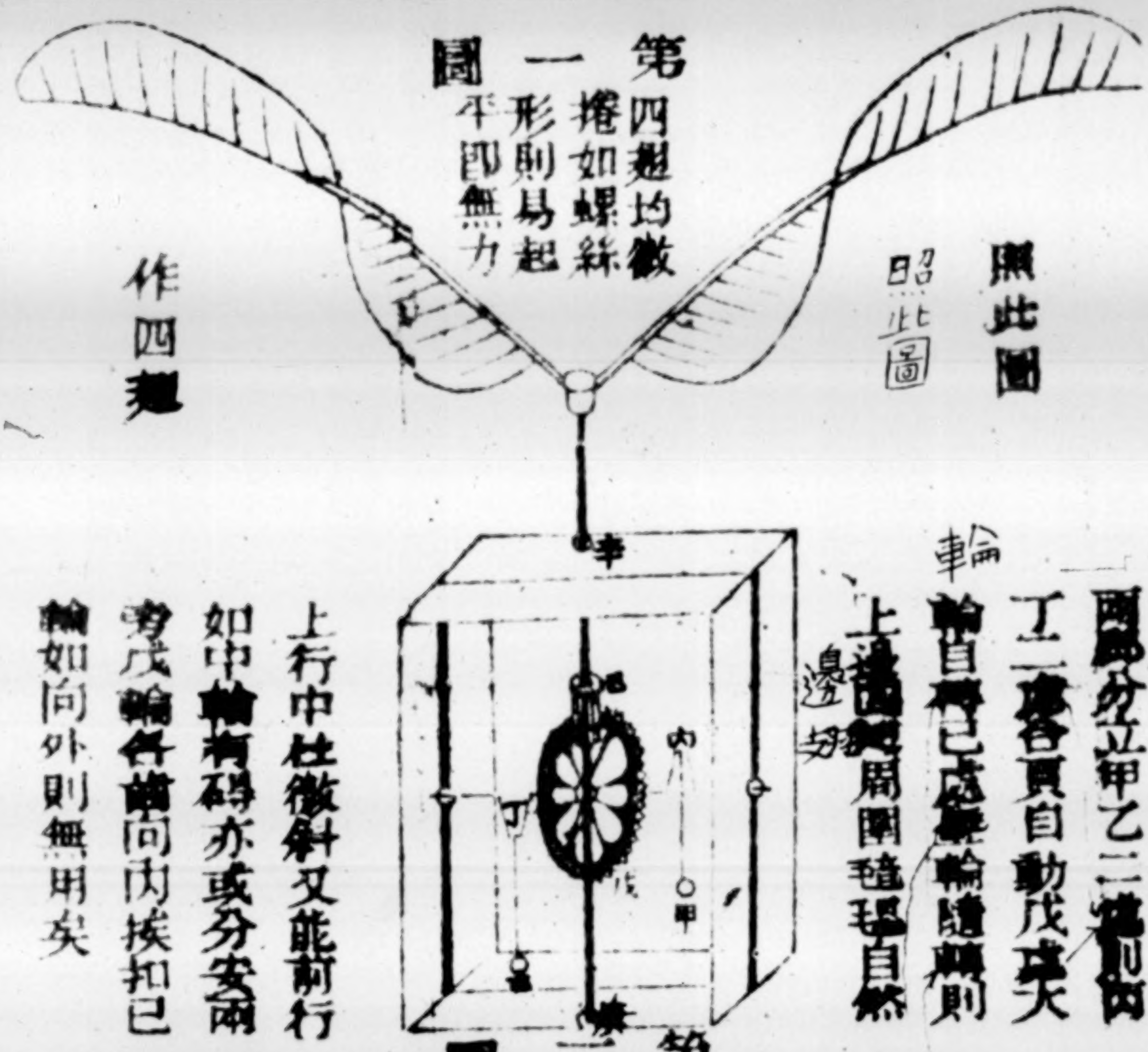
The following diagram and picture appeared in newspapers. They are the results of Timothy Richard's prolonged study of birds and insects in an effort to improve communications in Shansi.

---

[1] Timothy Richard, Forty-five Years, pp. 154-55.

第一圖

四翅均微捲如螺絲形則易起平即無力



作四翅

照此圖

照此圖

兩脚分立甲乙二處則丙

兩脚分立甲乙二處則丙丁二處各頁自動戊亦大輪首將己戊螺輪隨轉則上邊翅周圍毿毿自然

輪

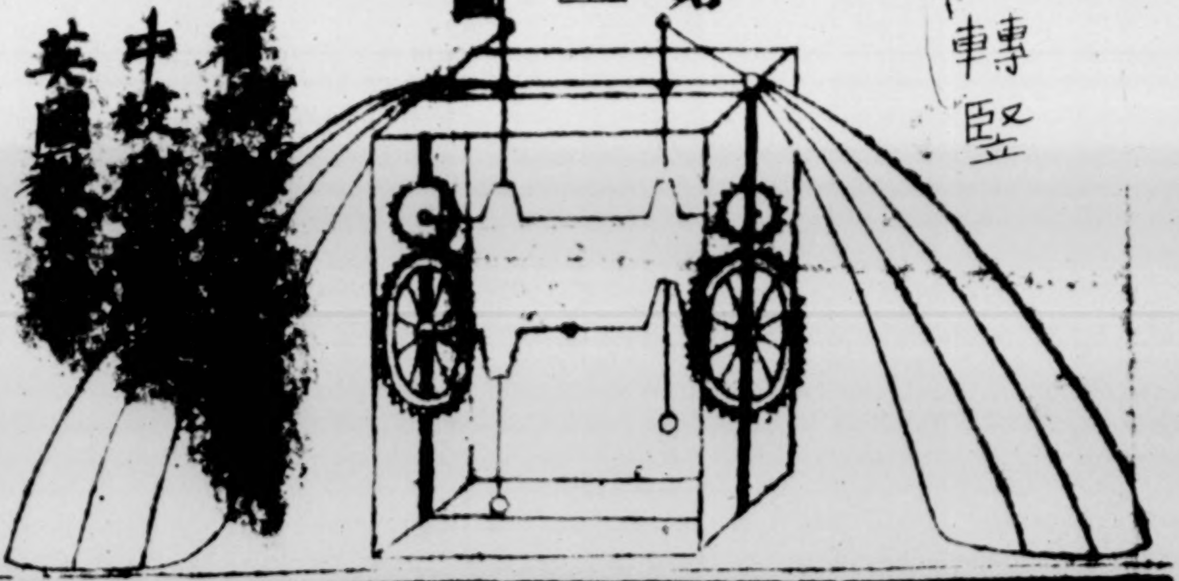
邊翅

轉

豎

上行中柱微斜又能前行如中輪有碍亦或分安兩旁戊輪各輪向內挨扣已輪如向外則無用矣

第二圖



[illegible]
中校[illegible]
英國[illegible]

創造飛器

告白

古人見空木浮而知爲舟、觀蓬轉而知爲輪、任重致遠、以利天下、今觀鳥翼而飛者鳥之能也、人爲萬物之靈、必能思得其法、有爲者須思蜂蝶鴿三物之理、有翼小而身大者、何以能飛、有翼大而身小者何以能飛、有身翼相等者、何以能飛、翼之有大小、飛之有緩急、尤當度其身重幾何、翼重幾何、再加細心研究、其所以能然之理、得之於心、則應之於手、或有可成、今畧繪飛行機器二圖於左、不過粗具規模、惟在悟得其法者、[illegible]意另作一小樣、能自飛行、又必使飛器之外更載貨物、與器等重、定於明年正月初一日送至[illegible]寓、取中第一者、酬銀壹百兩、其餘均[illegible]、[illegible]此者、勿視如鐘表小[illegible]、如能有成、不但本省可免山河之[illegible]、[illegible]國亦必效法、利及天下、後[illegible]非[illegible]矣

光緒十六年十一月　寓山西省[illegible]生李[illegible]大[illegible]

APPENDIX J

APPENDIX

SOME LITERARY WORKS OF TIMOTHY RICHARD

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

No.		Price.
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215	列國變通興盛記 Progress of China's Neighbours	.12
216	歐洲八大帝王傳 Eight Great European Emperors, from Alexander to Napoleon	.04
217	近代教士列傳 Protestant Missionary Pioneers	.40
218	泰西新史攬要 Mackenzie's History of Christian Civilisation in the 19th Century (8 vols.)	1.40
219	石印泰西新史 Mackenzie's 19th Century. (Popular edition)	.65
220	時事新論 Essays for the Times (3 vols.)	.50
221	石印時事新論 Essays for the Times. (Popular edition)	.20
222	救世有道 A Way to Save the World ... ... *per 100*	1.20
223	天倫詩 Pope's Essay on Man. Translated	.15

No.		Price.
224	[illegible] Grace before Meal (illustrated sheet, Chinese paper) *per 100*	$0.35
225	[illegible]天圖 The Better Land (illustrated sheet, Chinese paper) *per 100*	.35
226	[illegible] The Renaissance of China	.12
227	[illegible] Right Principles of Universal Progress	.03
228	大清鐵路圖 Railway Map of China. (Mounted)	.65
228a	do. (Unmounted)	.35
229	古[illegible]原 Clodd's Childhood of the World	.10
230	五[illegible]中西年表圖 Stream of Time. (Mounted)	.80
230a	do. (Unmounted)	.50
231	五洲教務 The Religions of the World	.16
232	大同學 Kidd's Social Evolution (abridged)	.25
233	英國議事章程 The Chairman's Hand-book	.06
234	電學紀要 Elements of Practical Electricity	.12
235	大五洲輿圖 Map of the World, large (mounted)	.80
235a	do. do. (unmounted)	.50

Various Writers.

No.		Price.
350	教堂買產[illegible] Berthemy Convention. Official Documents	.01
351	新學彙編 Essays on Reform. By 17 Foreigners	.65

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Though their number has been considerably reduced as a result of political changes in China and of the bombing of London during the Second World War, a substantial number of manuscript materials relating to the life and work of Timothy Richard remains. They are to be found in six principal depositories in Great Britain: and New Zealand:

The Baptist Missionary Society Library, London, has a collection of letters from Richard to Alfred Henry Baynes, Secretary of the Society, for the years 1877-1903. Unfortunately, none of the correspondence emanating from Baynes or the Society has survived. A manuscript entitled, "Prospectus of A Society for Aiding China to Fall in with Right Principles of Universal Peace" also is here.

Margaret Richard Dixon, one of Timothy Richard's daughters, has a number of letters written by her father to herself and her sisters for the years 1887-1914, which she keeps in her home in Auckland, New Zealand.

Thomas Evans of Kidwelly, Wales, holds the originals of thirteen letters which Timothy Richard wrote to his mother, Eleanor Lewis Richard, during the years 1866-82. These were published in Welsh in 1963 in the *Trafodion Cymdeithas Hanes Bedyddwyr Cymru*. Translations of them were furnished the author by Mr. Evans.

The late Mary Celia Richard Napier of London held, at the time of her death, a large number of letters written by her father to her mother, Mary Martin Richard, and to herself and her sisters over the period 1886-1901. In addition, a manuscript by Richard, entitled "One Solution of What Remains of the China Problem," is included in these papers, the subsequent disposition of which following Mrs. Napier's death is not presently known to the author.

The National Library at Aberystwyth, Wales, has established a collection of Timothy Richard materials which includes eleven letters written to his nephew, Timothy Richard Morgan, in the years 1905-1919; Evan Morgan's "Timothy Richard and the Christian Literature Society," a manuscript dated 1 February 1921, which was prepared at the request of Thomas Lewis of the Baptist Missionary Society; a manuscript by Richard's private secretary, Hilda Bowser, entitled "Outline of Life and Work of Timothy Richard," which she had prepared under his supervision; manuscript essays entitled "The Modern Peace Problem," "New Views of World Problems, Defence, and Tariffs [dated London, 1 February 1906]," and "Out of the Melting Pot: The Beginning of Permanent Peace [dated London, 13 September 1917]," and various manuscript versions of addresses given in connection with his death or with the centenary observance of his birth in Wales in 1945.

Finally, the Library of the University of Wales in Cardiff has some records of the proceedings of a convocation honoring Richard on 15 July 1916.

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